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Near East/South Asia Report

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIANS UNHAPPY WITH FRENCH-TURKISH RAPPROCHEMENT

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 21 May 86 p 1

[Text] Sabetay Varol writes in CUMHURİYET:

The Armenian National Committee of France, one of the major Armenian lobbying organizations in France, sent a letter to French External Affairs Minister Jean Bernard Raymond criticizing the Chirac government's "pro-Turkish" policy. The letter states that the Armenian community was disappointed with the latest statements of the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister.

The letter observes that neither the Prime Minister nor the External Affairs Minister used the term "Armenian genocide" in their recent statements, which, if repeated, would mean that France has stopped recognizing the Armenian genocide.

The letter notes that the memorial inaugurated last 24 April in the presence of Mayor Chirac's deputy is not a monument to commemorate the Armenians who died for France alone. The letter adds that the Armenian community can never accept such a restriction.

The letter claims that Turkey deliberately relaxed its relations with France so that it can blackmail France in connection with the Armenian question.

The letter says: "Relations with Turkey must not be evaluated in the light of the Armenian question alone. There is the question of the occupation of Cyprus and the unstable condition of the current Turkish democratic government. All this must be taken into account in developing relations with Turkey."

9588

CSO: 4605/50

4 August 1986

EGYPT

OPPOSITION POLITICAL LEADER DESCRIBES RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jun 86 p 6

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qaddus: "Islam in the Life of Eng Ibrahim Shukri: Young Egypt Was the First Party To Combine Religion and Politics"]

[Text] Religion has a firm connection with the Labor Party and its chairman. It is an old relationship which began with the emergence -- the emergence of the Young Egypt Party and the childhood of Eng Ibrahim Shukri. The strong relationship which binds the party and its president to Islam is not just historic; it is also in the present and the future.

The discussion with Eng Ibrahim Shukri on religious devotion and its effect on his life started with a replay of the film of memories. He remembered his upbringing in a family which maintained Islamic traditions. Concerning that, he said, "It was my custom to fast from the time I was small. My father taught me to. My mother was extremely concerned over the prayer times and therefore my upbringing in my childhood was firmly linked to adherence to forms of worship." Islam, to Ibrahim Shukri, is not just restricted to forms of worship. It must of necessity reflect dealings with people. The chairman of the Labor Party is proud that he learned frankness in speaking the truth from his mother, the late Zaynab Hasan Wafiq. Of her, he states that she was famous for speaking the truth just because it made others angry. From her also he learned respect for the humanity of the weak and the poor who perform household service. She sympathized with them and dealt with them as well as possible, and at the same time she was strong and firm in the face of everyone who imagined that he could be aloof or arrogant in his dealings, one way or another. The influence of his father, Mahmud Shukri Mustafa, may God have mercy on him, was no less great. From him he basically learned respect for the value of work, whatever effort or suffering that might cost. In summary, Eng Ibrahim Shukri did not learn religion in the family environment just as stipulations to be memorized or concern over forms of worship, but also as the importance of morals, which religion calls for, and the application of what Moslems believe in in their dealings with others.

Islam and Young Egypt

My conversation with the Labor Party chairman moved over to the period of youth, when he passed beyond the initial stages, became a young man and

started to be interested in what was going on around him. That was in the early thirties, more than half a century ago. The young man started to express himself under the leadership of the late fighting man Ahmad Husayn. He began that with the al-Qirsh plan and the appeal that followed that for the Young Egypt movement and the issuance of the newspaper AL-SARKHAH.

I asked Eng Ibrahim Shukri, "Some people imagine that your struggle and that of your young comrades on behalf of Egypt caused you to be little interested in religion. What do you say?"

He smiled with ridicule at these "some people" and answered by stating, "The opposite is totally true. We were the first party to combine religion with politics and make the appeal that faith in God and total devotion to religion must be a motive for national action in its various forms. Among these forms are resistance to the occupying force, Egyptianization of the economy, establishment of the society of virtue and consolidation of relations with the Arabs and the Islamic world. Our appeal conflicted with the tendencies of the existing parties, which viewed Islam as a relationship between man and his lord alone."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri gave further details on this issue by stating, "All the examples and lessons we learned were derived from the history of the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, and the history of the upright caliphs after him. Their focus was the society of the virtuous, the realization of social justice, respect for man, holy war and self-reliance. The members of Young Egypt were famous especially in the university for adherence to religion. The young people in the movement tried to realize the establishment of the society of virtue they dreamed of by a practical method. Their leadership called on them to smash up taverns and liquor stores and many members of the movement everywhere responded to the appeal and also worked to prevent and eliminate their official survival. For the sake of this movement, some members met their death in combat, among whom I might mention a student in the Teachers' College. We repeatedly clashed with the government and police and these actions cost us many victims. The teachings which were in effect in our spirits were as great as this."

Concerning Young Egypt's relationship with the Islamic organizations which existed at that time, Eng Ibrahim Shukri said that they were strong. It was not strange that some people active in the appeal for Islam were members of Young Egypt, such as some young people of Our Lord Muhammad. Among them, he in particular mentioned the late Husayn Yusuf, who was a prominent member of Young Egypt and a Green Shirt and was also an artist who drew the cover of the magazine AL-SARKHAH, which was the movement's organ at that time. The force of the relationship with the Moslem Brothers, the major Islamic movement, was so great that the two parties thought of merging. That was in the latter part of the forties. Further proof of the strength of the connection to religion which Eng Ibrahim mentioned was the change in the party's name to the Islamic Party of Egypt.

I asked him, "But the party changed its name after that to the Socialist Party. What is your justification for that?"

He answered me, "The label of socialism at that time was the most precise title for the goals we were aiming at at that time. The struggle at that

time after World War Two was aimed at resisting the occupation and the oppression of the king and feudalism and advocating social justice and equal opportunities."

Eng Ibrahim Shukri asserted "The late fighting man Ahmad Husayn was most anxious to state that our socialism which we were calling for was derived not from Marxist principles but from Islam. To that end, he wrote his work 'The Socialism We Are Calling for' and raised the slogan 'God and the people' as an expression of these orientations. We believe in God, try to apply his law, and seek to serve the people."

The Society of Virtue

I told the chairman of the Labor Party, "I wonder about Islam's relationship to the party that exists now, the Labor Party."

He answered by stating, "That does not need much discussion. It is clear in practice and theory. It manifests itself plainly in the party's various positions, through enthusiasm for everything that will lead to the application of Islamic law, the fight against aberration and the establishment of the society of virtue. The party has stated that in detail in its program. It has stipulated clearly, 'without equivocation' and in large letters, that Islamic law is the basic source of legislation in the country and that the laws cannot contain what is in violation of Islamic law. The program, on its first page, stated the party's slogan, 'God and the people.' On that subject, it said, 'Out of the belief that God is the creator, the generous giver, the force dominating the world with the spirits that conceal it and the mysteries it contains and is informed of the acts we commit secretly and in the open, and that if mankind meets to benefit one person or do harm to him in some way it can do so only with what his almighty and his fate have decreed, and out of conviction that the people are our goal with respect to the effort we are exerting and the work we are striving to carry out, and we will realize good only if it is applied generally to all its groups.'"

The party has a clear conception regarding the establishment of the society of virtue and integrity it has described. Part of this is concern in the media to implant proper values and good examples in people's spirits, to avoid inciting people to commit vice, encourage the commission of insurrection or provoke appetites, to prevent the publication or suspension of advertisements, posters and pictures which entail moral depravity and provocation, to eliminate all manifestations and things which contain corruption or deviation, including for example places for the sale of liquor, night clubs, places of betting and gambling casinos, and to advocate the struggle against depravity and the commitment to modesty in the places of learning and sites of work. The chairman of the Labor Party asked the government to begin with itself and not sully public money by trafficking in prohibited things such as liquor or by obtaining revenues from gambling and betting.

Eng Ibrahim Shukri stressed the importance of religious upbringing in the universities and schools and the kindling of religious instinct among citizens. Religious values are the most successful means for eliminating acts of corruption and deviation, and faith in the oversight of the creator allow one to dispense with the sequence of fruitless acts of oversight.

My final question of the chairman of the Labor Party was about writers who are devoted adherents of Islam whom he favors.

He answered me, "They are the martyr Sayyid Qutb and Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali. They indeed managed to link religion to life. They corrected many erroneous ideas about religion. They brought to prominence Islam's contributions in the various areas of life, such as consultation and social justice. I also like Fahmi Huwaydi. In his articles, he tries to be fair to the Islamic current and he proceeds along the path of the martyr Qutb and Shaykh al-Ghazali in describing the pillars of the true Islam."

11887

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EGYPT

MUBARAK EXPLAINS NATION'S POLICIES AT YOUTH MEETING

PM061300 Cairo AL-AHRAM International Edition in Arabic 3 Jul 86 p 3

[Hasan 'Ashur and Nahal Shukri report: "Mubarak Underlines the State's Determination To Protect Public Property and Strike at All Forms of Corruption and Extravagance"]

[Excerpts] Within the context of his meetings with the NDP ranks President Husni Mubarak yesterday met with the NDP Youth Secretariat Bureau, the youth secretaries, and provincial and district committees.

The president expressed the state's determination to protect public property and strike at all forms of corruption and extravagance. He emphasized that no harm will come to the rights granted to the workers and peasants by the 23 July revolution. He also said: "With work, production, and consciousness our people can without doubt overcome all circumstances. We have a part to play in changing the attitude to consumption and we should not be upset when certain commodities disappear or when import regulations are changed."

Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif has stated that at the beginning of the meeting the president listened to all the questions of the youth leaders about local and foreign issues and that he answered these questions clearly and frankly.

The president began by stressing that he was eager to have this meeting and to give the youth in particular a full picture of what is happening in their country, of issues of national action, and of everything that is raised in society, and also to explain to them all aspects of foreign policy so that they can be part of it and play a part in developing their society.

The president was asked about state services for farmers through development and agricultural credit banks.

On the extremism phenomenon, the president said that this is now an international feature and is the result of social and economic pressures and is not only confined to religious extremism. Extremism, he said, is an international phenomenon which has imposed itself on the world and the region in various forms, such as political, social, religious, or behavioral extremism. He pointed out that the way to remedy extremist ideas and conduct is by meeting

idea with idea, and this is the responsibility of all groups and individuals in society so that everyone will enjoy stability, security, and safety.

The information minister said that the president explained that we do have economic difficulties but they are under control and we tell the people about them, and that Egypt is a part of this world which is suffering from economic crises everywhere. Egypt is having a difficult year, he said, and its economy is part of the world economy. We have been affected by the drop in world oil prices and the drop in Suez Canal revenues, which are linked to international trade, and in the transfers from Egyptians abroad because of the difficult economic conditions and the slowing down of development in the Arab countries. That is why as people we must help in overcoming the economic crisis and we should realize that we are a developing state and that we should endure with cooperation and patience in order to end the crisis without giving up development and its objectives.

The president referred to the foreign and Arab media's unrealistic and illogical analyses based on illusions and fiction. He affirmed that Egypt is big in its democracy, institutions, and national commitments. He said Egypt is a civilized state and it is ruled by the people for the people. He stressed that democratic practice can be enriched through public maturity and through a demonstration of a sense of responsibility by the parties, which should appreciate their national role so that the work and dialogue will be in the interest of the people and their priorities. Criticism, he said, should be objective with no room for one-upmanship or negligence because we want to keep the democratic atmosphere clean.

The information minister said that the president explained that the rumors about cabinet changes or reshuffle are untrue, pointing out that our aim is to save the people's interests in an atmosphere of stability and there will be no change for the sake of change.

The president urged the NPD youth to resist all rumors, instruments of destruction, and attempts to undermine the process of democracy and development and to sow doubt.

The president then spoke about Egypt's foreign policy, explaining Egypt's relations with the superpowers, military and economic cooperation with the United States, and the results of the visits of the deputy prime minister and defense minister, the deputy prime minister and planning minister, and the ministers of finance and cabinet affairs [to the United States].

He also discussed Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union, the socialist camp states, the EC, and the nonaligned states. He said that Egypt's relations are based on mutual respect and independence of Egyptian decisionmaking. He asserted that Egypt does not allow bases on its territory or interference in its internal affairs.

On Arab relations the president explained Arab conditions and Egypt's ties with its Arab nation. He reviewed Egypt's pioneering and historic role in support of its Arab nation throughout history.

The president said that Egypt fought three wars and in October 1973 achieved victory for the Arab nation. He said that Egypt is built with Egyptian hands and that it depends on its own resources without the help and aid of its rich brothers.

He said that Egypt can only be built by Egyptian toil and sweat and that Egypt will continue to be a pioneer and will continue to be big and will place its interests above all other considerations.

The president praised Egypt's relations with the Sultanate of Oman and the principled attitude of Sultan Qabus. He also hailed the continuous exchange of views with King Husayn and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and he referred to the Sudanese State Council chairman's visit which begins today, Thursday.

He also explained the Iraq-Iran war and its developments and the self-contradictory attitudes of some Arab states toward it as well as the Lebanese problem and the Syrian role which is making it worse.

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EGYPT

DISSIDENT JOURNAL FLAYS SUBSIDY REFORM PLAN

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 10 Jun 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by 'Adil Husayn: "Eliminating National Sovereignty"]

[Text] It occurred to me to put the declamation of weighty speech into abeyance on the occasion of the holidays. However, I was unfortunately compelled to shelve this idea, since I do not have the right, nor do you, to ignore for a moment what is going on around us, if we can aspire to God's pardon, so that our coming year will be better by his permission. Yes, the holiday enticingly beckons with repose and the months of summer have come with their blazing heat, prompting laziness and somnolence. However, these months, in their turn, are the months of preparation for the execution of the new budget in July, with the decrees and policies that contains, whose extent only God knows.

The prime minister, last week, asked the parties to continue their dialogue concerning national issues. There is no doubt that the Labor Party welcomes the pursuit and continuation of such a dialogue, but what is meant by national issues? We consider that feasible dialogue between the people in the government and those who are situated in the opposition has the purpose of reaching agreement over the broad outlines of what is called "higher government strategy" that is, integrated basic goals and principles, goals and principles which do not change with the change in the ruling party and are supposed to guide society's movement and policies over 20 years, for example. If the long-term goal is true, real political and economic independence, and if this goal of necessity is connected to Arab Islamic unity, what is the effect of that on economic development, cultural and educational orientations and political practices? What are the maximum foreign debts permitted if we are concerned with economic independence? What are the projects of strategic nature connected to the provision of food or military security? How can we protect our military and civilian secrets from foreigners? What is the effect of these ambitious goals on our international relations and on the size of the armed forces and their role in coping with foreign threats? How does the cultural and legislative climate change, as an expression of the resurgence of Islamic civilization? And so forth.

These are just examples of general questions on whose answers we must reach agreement so that the political system will be stable and competition will

arise in a specific, recognized context. National dialogue is desirable (if people's intentions are sincere) with the goal of arriving at such general responses (or principles). This is the case in any country which is respected in the world, whether it has founded its political system on the presence of a number of parties or on a single party.

Once the general principles by which everyone will be bound voluntarily and contentedly are arrived at, dispute regarding the details and ramifications (and how many of those there are) is welcome, and parties and bodies arise to that end.

However, what we are being presented by the government is totally the opposite of this notion. We differ over most principles and bases; nonetheless, we are being summoned to what is called a "national dialogue" over the allocations for subsidies in the 1986 budget, for example, or over the lack of charges for education (a new proposal of Dr 'Ali Lutfi's). We are requesting a serious dialogue at the highest level concerning higher goals and general principles for movement over a long time period, and they, conversely, are proposing a dialogue which has the goal of arriving at agreement over details covering a time period of a single month, or a year at the most. If matters proceed in accordance with this erroneous thinking, we will be dealing with a radical difference concerning things over which we should concur (the general principles) and an attempt to reach agreement over what we should differ over (the ramifications).

In spite of that, in the face of a number of practical considerations, the Labor Party agreed to take part in a dialogue with the National Party concerning the issue of subsidies. The fact is that the proposed dialogue is not aimed at freeing our hands in dealing with the subject in its various aspects. The scope is even narrower than that. It confines the issue to ways of guaranteeing subsidies for people who are entitled to them and whether that will be realized in a better manner in the form of subsidies in kind or through cash. Raising the question in this manner does not mean that we are pausing to contemplate ramifications and abandoning the principles; it means more -- it means inundating the parties in the ramifications of the ramifications and this level of very narrow, specialized study of them, through the presentation to the representatives of the political parties.

In any event, if you restrict the subject to this very narrow scope, which assumes that everything else is stable as it is (that is, stability in politics, officials, interest and pressure groups and so forth), if this is all stable as it is, we will stand with all our strength on the side of subsidies in kind, and the reasons are numerous. Suffice it for us to point out that none of the citizens (and we are among them) have confidence in the intentions of the government. The general thinking among us and among the citizens is that the government is holding dialogue and maneuvering to "pick our pockets," and therefore subsidies in kind will guarantee a limited amount of bread, cooking oil or sugar which will reach the citizens at a declared official price, which will reduce the opportunity for "pocket-picking." As to offering additional cash income to the citizens, that will put them at the mercy of numerous fates over which there is no power, and they have no confidence in the people who are setting them in motion and consequently none in their results.

As long as everything remains the way it is, our confidence in the government is as great as our confidence in the "pickpocket" who snatches a moment in which we are not alert to act with agility and nimbleness of hand. This is sufficient for us to hold onto subsidies in kind, the specific subsidies which we physically grasp, and reject the cash subsidies which inflation will eat up.

This draws us to a subject we referred to in the previous issue. There have on many occasions been points in economists' discussions concerning subsidies (direct and indirect) which provoke confusion and chaos. Let me point out in particular that when we discuss what are called subsidies we are talking about the issue of prices, which is an issue related in its essence to the national identity and sovereignty of the country more than it is related to class talk about rich and poor people. Put differently, the essence of the issue is, does the government have sovereignty or stewardship over price policy, or is the matter totally outside such national control? The reports of the foreign experts and their agents do not stop at rejecting government intervention in setting the prices of bread-loaves or bars of soap for social reasons; rather, they extend to other areas in whose prices here the government intervenes for strategic and security reasons.

The situation requires that we ask these gentlemen: Is it one of God's laws in the realm of human society that the government be prevented in any manner, to any extent, from intervening in the administration of the national economy and its social and strategic relations? The proper answer to this question is that there of course is no law of this sort. Indeed, the government must intervene in the affairs of the economy. This is correct from the standpoint of Islamic jurisprudence and it is also correct from the standpoint of modern economic practice. Government intervention has become something that is to be taken for granted politically and economically everywhere.

But for what purpose does the government intervene? Here is where higher strategy becomes defined. What are the means? We state without a lengthy recitation that some of the means are administrative (that is, the issuance of direct decrees to executive bodies) and some of them are through financial and cash incentives (that is, through different prices). If the government wants to encourage the establishment of a specific industry, it resorts to reducing interest rates, reducing the taxes and levies imposed on the project, reducing the prices of energy and other production accessories, increasing the price of the final product, raising levies on competing foreign commodities, and so forth. The government uses all or some of this so that activity in these desired industries will be profitable and attractive and investors will be receptive.

Do you want examples? Every Western country engages in this. The United States itself is not exempted from this. We can mention the military industries in particular. We can also refer to the Israeli economy and the price incentives it contains to encourage projects in new settlements, for example, or in the border areas.

If things were in our hands, we would stipulate that the intervention of the Egyptian government in the management of the economy and its development

should be by use of the two means together (that is, direct decrees on some occasions and the price game on others), and there is no harm in arguments over the definition of the scope in which the administrative decrees will function or definition of the scope in which the price incentives will function.

What we now faced with, though, is that foreign experts (especially in the American aid agency and in the international bodies) are debating in a totally different manner. They do not distinguish between the two methods but demand the elimination of the two methods together, that is, demand that the Egyptian government not intervene at all in the administration and guidance of its own economy! They started with a severe, concentrated attack on the use of administrative decrees (on grounds that they are an atrocity of the devil's doing and without scientific foundation, which is a blatant lie). Now that they have realized great success in this direction, they are trying, in the current stage, to liquidate the government's authority in the area of prices and to hand this authority over to the Western countries, represented by their banks, their companies and their governments under the supervision of the International Monetary Fund. This, in their custom and parlance, is called the observation of international price levels.

The elimination of the government's administrative and pricing authority will totally eliminate any intentions toward independent development. In our specific case, it will increase our isolation from the Arab economies and will open the door wide open to the Peres plan for Zionist economic dominance.

However, this requires further discussion. In any case, smile, may God look after you, and happy holidays.

11887

CSO: 4504/362

EGYPT

DISSIDENT JOURNAL DISPARAGES FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADVICE

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 3 Jun 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by 'Adil Husayn: "On Our Way to A New Camp David"]

[Text] We may take note of the serious nature of the negotiations now underway. The parties taking part are hedging the negotiations about with the utmost secrecy, and it is our duty to wake up and act before disaster occurs. We are talking about a new Camp David agreement in the economic area.

The situation requires some explanation.

We know that Egyptian foreign revenues have dropped this year because of the drop in world oil prices. At the same time, we know that it is not possible to cause a rapid increase in our agricultural and industrial exports in order to make up for this drop. We also know that we have to allocate more than one third of our foreign revenues to pay the interest and instalments on loans. That is, we must allocate about \$3 billion a year over the coming 5 years (1986-87 to 1990-91).

It is well known that the government has for a long time sought to follow the easy way, which is to demand additional "aid" from the United States while requesting a postponement of some of what it is owed (that is, re-scheduling of its military debts). The United States rejected these demands and turned us over to the International Monetary Fund, with its prior support for everything this fund stipulates.

The fund states that it is indeed able to arrange additional "aid" and can offer about \$500 million a year in easy loans. In addition, the World Bank will offer this sort of amount every year if we reach an understanding with the fund. Then there are the facilities the Western governments offer in collective form (the Peres plan) or in bilateral form. This, as is said, is connected to the flow of direct foreign investment which we have long been waiting for.

Concerning the reduction of the burdens of existing debts, the Monetary Fund has promised to mediate with creditors (especially the Western governments, headed by the United States) so that the annual burdens will drop from \$3 billion to \$1 billion in the course of the next 5 years.

This means rearranging the dates of payment and consolidating debts so that the term of the consolidated debt will be 10 years with a grace period of no less than 4 years. Thus, the Egyptian economy will emerge from the crisis.

The fact is that if our crisis was just one of a decline in revenues and an increase in the imbalance between revenues and disbursements, the fund's "prescription" would indeed get us out of this crisis.

Who, however, said that our crisis can be summarized as just one of a decline in revenues?

In order to put the picture more in focus, let us suppose that we are talking about a family which has suffered a drop in income for some reason. On the basis of our experience in life, without theoretical legerdemain, we know that this family (if it is intelligent and virtuous) will not say that the problem it is suffering is just a crisis of revenues and consequently that any increase in income is to be considered a great, acceptable solution. Otherwise, at that point, will it be the same whether it borrows at usurious rates, and does well, or obtains a good loan from an honorable, godfearing person? Will the two be on a par with austerity and a reduction in expenditures, or with the search for additional work which will yield the father, mother or children an income? Will the additional income being realized in a grocery store, accounting office or knitwear be the same as additional income realized from the sale of narcotics or from the pornography market?

There is no doubt that any intelligent, virtuous family will distinguish among the natures of the alternatives available, will choose one alternative or more from among them and will eliminate and remove some. In any event, it will not just summarize the matter as filling the gap between revenues and disbursements. This same platform applies to the nation.

What alternative do you suppose the International Monetary Fund program represents? Is the fund considered a suitable intermediary with a good reputation? Realize, brother, may God preserve you, if some country is subordinate to the United States (as is our case, and that of most Arab countries), the fund coordinates its activity in this country with the American State Department and the Development Agency subordinate to it. They jointly study this country's condition and arrive at suitable methods for dealing with it.

If Zionist influence in the American administration is as we know it to be, this influence does not permeate the White House and the State Department and leave the rest. If it exercises influence on American foreign activities, that influence is not restricted to acting for the sake of political and military dominance but extends of necessity to acting for the sake of economic dominance.

The fund is not a neutral scientific or technical body, but an aligned organization for the world's arrogant against the downtrodden. In our area, specifically, it is an organization which stands, with all its resources, on the side of the United States and Israel. I hope that no one imagines that we are exaggerating. What we have stated is an honest description or

definition of this organization. It does not in any event amount to a request that it be boycotted. That is something which is not pertinent at the present time and not desired. What is pertinent and desired, though, is that we deal with this organization in full awareness of its cleverness and that of the people who run it.

In the light of that, we wonder what the conditions the Monetary Fund imposes for offering new loans and facilitating the old ones are. The conditions seem numerous but all in all they have the aim of alienating the Egyptian government from the administration of economic activity in accordance with national calculations and leaving this task to the International Monetary Fund in accordance with American Western Zionist calculations. We can see the clearest, most serious example in this regard in the issue of prices, which has become known and famous as the issue of subsidies. The fact is that our economists have paused more than necessary to contemplate the issue of subsidies in accordance with a narrow conception of them. Indeed, the domestic economists have concentrated more than proper on the effect of the elimination of these government price subsidies in the case of the rich and the poor. There is no doubt that everything they have said is correct, but it is not enough, and I am afraid that it has concealed something that is more calamitous and bitter in the issue of subsidies, by which we mean the domestic economic consequences.

While we will postpone the continued explanation of this point to the next issue, with God's permission, we now quickly point out that the Monetary Fund's success in alienating the government from the determination of price policy will be a real national disaster and that it is totally linked to the American demand for stimulating "normalization" and is totally connected to the demand of America (and the fund and the World Bank along with it) to reduce the role of the public sector though no national justification calls for that. If promises are now being spread about concerning the increase in the advent of investing multinational companies, what is meant is stimulation of common investment with Israel as part of the general stimulation of "normalization" or the scheme of "Zionist dominance."

Didn't we say that the current negotiations might end up in an economic Camp David? Didn't we say that the situation requires swift action?

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CSO: 4504/362

EGYPT

BRIEFS

ENERGY-SAVING PLAN APPROVED--[From the press review] AL-AHRAM notes that Electricity and Energy Minister Eng Mahir Abazah has approved a plan designed to save energy. Under the plan, television transmission will be cut down to approximately 8 hours daily, the government and the public sector will observe a 5-day working week, and popular television programs will be screened during off-peak hours, rather than between 2000 and 2200 hours, which is peak viewing time. The reduction in television transmission will achieve a 160-million kilowatt hours saving in electricity, equivalent to 47,000 tons of diesel oil, worth 7 million pounds. Moreover, a 5-day working week will achieve savings in electricity equivalent to 120-million kilowatt hours annually. [Text] [Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 0515 GMT 8 Jul 86 NC] /6662

CSO: 4500/161

LIBYA

VOGAH VIEWS YEMENI UNITY TALKS, JORDANIAN PROBLEMS

LD081144 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 0115 GMT 8 Jul 86

["The Political Dossier"]

[Excerpts] In today's episode of our weekly program "The Political Dossier," we will deal with two topics of considerable importance: The first deals with the visits to the Great Jamahiriyah by the presidents of the two parts of Yemen for unity talks in this Arab land, which have witnessed numerous steps and continuous efforts to find a means to bring the Arab people throughout the Arab homeland closer to the day of their comprehensive unity; the second deals with conditions in Jordan.

With regard to the first topic, we seek our listeners' permission to start in a rather strange way, particularly as our shattered Arab homeland abounds with strange starts:

Burkina Faso is a republic in Africa. It is very far from the Arab homeland and has no interest, if we were to analyze matters properly, in whether the Arabs become united or not in as much as it is interested in events close to its borders. To make a long story short, we say that the tragicomedy is that the president of this faraway country has cabled the commander of the Great 1 September Revolution affirming his solidarity with the commander in his efforts to find a formula for unity to bring the sons of the Arab people in both parts of Yemen closer together. He also expressed his wishes that the efforts of the commander to achieve this goal of unity would meet with success. On the other hand, we have not heard of any cable from any Arab official declaring his solidarity even out of courtesy, with the efforts to bring unity between the two parts of Yemen, which are being exerted in the land of the Great 1 September Revolution, the revolution of Arab unity.

While the meetings of unity between both parts of Yemen were taking place in the land of another Arab people, cables were pouring in at the U.S. black house congratulating it on the United States' Independence Day from numerous Arab officials who have seized the occasion to send their words of love and courting to the president of the biggest terrorist state in history, namely the United States. In view of this, we say: What a mockery of fate.

The meetings of unity between both parts of the one Yemen hosted by the Jamahiriya of all the Arabs is a topic that should arouse the emotions of every Arab loyal to his one Arab nation. If these talks were to succeed, they would provide an incentive for other Arab attempts toward attaining the desired objective: Namely, comprehensive Arab unity.

As part of the greater Arab homeland, we aspire to the day when the two Yemens become one Yemen. If this were to come true, then we would be taking the first step toward the creation of our one Arab homeland.
[musical interval]

The agent regime in Jordan continues the campaign of persecution and repression against the Jordanian Arab citizens, who reject the policy of treason, capitulation, and squandering of the Arab land, which is being pursued by this regime under the pretext of the so-called peace initiatives. They are in fact no more than policies of the capitulation and liquidation of the Palestinian cause which aim to end the Palestinian existence. [passage omitted]

The Jordanian regime's violation by its repressive measures of the most fundamental rights of man and its persecution of all free, honorable voices prompt us to express our solidarity and to stand with all our material and moral resources with our Arab masses in Jordan. It also prompts all the progressive forces and organizations in the world to stand by our Arab masses in Jordan until this filthy agent regime collapses and the will of our heroic Arab people triumphs, the will to challenge all plots and intrigues by Zionism and its reactionary agents.

Our masses in Jordan, who have expressed their views about this regime since its establishment, through a series of popular uprisings, are not deterred by the repressive measures or the brutality of persecution exercises by the repressive machinery and are not deterred from offering all sacrifices for facing up and toppling this regime. All they need is someone who can polarize their struggle. Here lies the task of the revolutionary living forces in Jordan.

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CSO: 4500/163

LIBYA

ARAB AFFAIRS EDITOR VIEWS EVENTS IN KUWAIT

LD081008 Tripoli JANA in English 0900 GMT 8 Jul 86

[Text] Kuwait, Dulqiddah 2, Shahr Nasser 8, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY--[words indistinct] reactions have been generated today on the decision of Kuwait's emir on the dissolution of the National Assembly and the imposition of restrictions on general freedoms as well as the overthrow of the government together with the dissolution of the Municipality Council.

JANA's Arab affairs editor has commented on the serious political developments witnessed by Kuwait saying that there are consecutive events come as a genuine and direct reaction recorded on the political level in the Arab homeland being a natural product of the heated people's interactions brought about by the barbaric U.S.-NATO aggression against Great al-Jamahiriyah, not to mention the other people's effects brought about by this aggression. [sentence as received] Such effects are represented in the massive student uprisings witnessed by Jordanian universities and high schools in addition to the effect of the statement of Jordanian women bodies, let alone the uprising the rank and file of the Tunisian people and in the Arab world and the world at large as well.

At this time the Arab regimes have been shown as helpless in that they have failed completely to defend the Arab nation.

JANA's editor has emphasized that what is taking place in Kuwait these days can only be explained by being the first revolutionary [words indistinct] directed against the official regime there. All the events that have followed have taken on a serious mark that have left its effects on the man in the street in Kuwait.

He reiterates that the dissolution of the National Assembly and the downfall of the Kuwaiti Government are a genuine action that touches the political framework there in that this regime has found itself in a suffocating crisis: Either it opts for confronting the masses of the people which means starting the spark of the revolution or it goes on in its dictatorial option.

JANA's editor has called to mind the phenomena of incompetence, weakness and blind moves characterizing Arab regimes and giving them their true color.

The falsity of the allegations of these regimes have been exposed. Their experiments have fallen under the ruins of Beirut in 1982. Likewise, all their credentials have been burnt when the Libyan Arab peoples faced up to the U.S.-NATO barbaric aggression and inflicted a defeat on the aggressors.

JANA's editor has stressed that all the political regimes based on (?the) theories of violence and exploitation from among sultanates emirates and hereditary regimes have definitely shown themselves to be unsuccessful and incompetent. All their papers have failed in confronting the enemy of the Arab nation and they should now go away and withdraw so as to be replaced by Jamahiriya theory through people's revolution.

JANA's editor has concluded his commentary saying that the Arab regimes, which have usurped the rights of the masses together with their freedom using all their weapons in a bid to change the logic of history which is biased towards the people, have now a short life-span after people's power has been asserted on the soil of Great al-Jamahiriyah and the Arab masses have repeated saying since Al Tayr 15th last that we and the leader of defiance are awaiting the Americans and those of NATO. So are the up [words indistinct].

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CSO: 4500/163

LIBYA

BRIEFS

GREEK CHARGES ON COOPERATION--The Greek charge d'affaires in the Great Jamahiriya called for increasing the cultural, information and economic cooperation between the two friendly peoples in the Great Jamahiriya and Greece, including the exchange of cultural and media visits. During his audience today with brother secretary of the People's Committee for Information and Culture, the Greek charge d'affaires said that the Libyan leader, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi and Papandreou, the Greek prime minister, have repeatedly stressed the importance of increasing the existing cooperation between the two friendly countries. He stressed that despite all the pressures exerted by America and its NATO allies, Greece will remain committed to finding more means of cooperation and consolidating the friendly relations with the Great Jamahiriya. The Greek charge d'affaires added that Libya and Greece represent the same political course in the Mediterranean and continuously call for the evacuation of that sea from the foreign military presence and fleets. During that meeting, they discussed the means of cultural and information cooperation between the two countries and their development in the interest of the two friendly peoples. [Text] [Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 28 Jun 86 LD] /12858

INSPECTOR GENERAL RECEIVES FRIGATE--Al-Bayan al Awwal, 28 Jun 86 (JANA)--Brigadier Mustafa al-Kharrubi, inspector general of the Libyan Arab armed forces has received this morning the frigate "al-Hani" at the naval base of Benghazi. It will join the Libyan Arab naval fleet. The reception ceremony was attended by the chief of staff of the naval forces and his assistants, the commander of Benghazi military region, a number of officers of the armed forces, secretaries of people's committees of the municipality, and families of the duty martyrs who sacrificed themselves for the homeland during the barbaric crusader aggression against the Great Jamahiriya. The inspector general of the Libyan Arab armed forces listened to detailed explanations about this frigate and acquainted himself with its armament. He spoke to the officers and the members of the base and urged them to make greater efforts and contribute more to increase the competence of the naval forces in particular and our armed forces in general for the defense of the gigantic cultural achievements which have taken place in the land of the Great Jamahiriya due to the Great al-Fatih Revolution. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1730 GMT 28 Jun 86 LD] /12858

SOVIET ARAB SUPPORT GROUP CABLE--Tripoli, Shawal 26, Shahr Nasser 2, Jamahiriyah News Agency--The leader of the revolution has received a telegram from the Committee in Defense of the Libyan Arab people which was formed following the abortive and barbarous U.S.-NATO aggression against Great al-Jamahiriyah. The committee comprises organizations, progressive parties, patriotic forces and student associations and unions in the USSR. It has recently held its [words indistinct] meeting in the headquarters of the secretariat of the Educational People's Congress, USSR branch. In its telegram to the leader, the Committee in Defense of the Libyan Arab people has stressed the solidarity of organizations, progressive parties and patriotic forces together with student association in USSR expressing their unlimited support to Great al-Jamahiriyah in its resolute brave repulsing of U.S. imperialism and its puppets. The above organization members of the defense committee have announced that they are always at the disposal of the leader of defiance and victory stressing that they are on the standby to defend the Libyan Arab people and stand with it in one trench so as to support the freedom of man and foil U.S.-NATO plots and schemes concocted against both great al-Jamahiriyah and the Arab nation. In its telegram the committee has emphasized that the Arab youth in its member organizations in USSR have set themselves to expose the imperialist policy and the Arab reactionary stances. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 0934 GMT 2 Jul 86 LD] /12858

EDUCATION PROTOCOL WITH ALGERIA--Tripoli, Dulqidda 2, Shahr Qier 8. Jamahiriyah News Agency--A protocol in bilateral cooperation was concluded yesterday between the General Education People's Congress of Universities in Great Jamahiriyah and the Algerian Youth Association. The protocol asserts supporting and promoting the brotherly relations as well as exchanging the youth and student delegations to see the experiments of the two countries in the political, economic and social sectors. The protocol has also stressed the entwining of the universities in the two countries and exchanging university curriculums in addition to coordinating the stances at international and regional forums, let alone the necessity of backing Arab Youth Association, the General Union of Arab Students African Youth and All-Africa Association. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 1036 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD] /12858

CSO: 4500/163

MOROCCO

POLISH SEJM DELEGATION MEETS WITH OFFICIALS

LD251652 Warsaw PAP in English 1203 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Rabat, June 25--A Polish parliamentary delegation, headed by Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski, held talks yesterday with representatives of the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco on bilateral economic cooperation.

During a talk with Moroccan Minister of Energy and Mines Mohamed Fettah, the sides agreed that there still existed unexhausted possibilities for Poland's share in the implementation of the Moroccan energy programme. Sejm deputy Jan Jankowski, a professor at the Mining-Metallurgy Academy, reported on Poland's technological and personnel capacity, enabling Polish enterprises to participate in building and expanding hard coal mines, and in industry-oriented staff training.

Minister Fettah showed great interest in cooperation with Poland, recalling that Polish enterprises earned the opinion of a reliable partner while erecting four sulphuric acid plants in Safi.

Under way are negotiations on signing a contract on the fifth such plant, designed to produce 3 thousand tonnes of sulphuric acid daily. Also discussed were possibilities of reviving imports of Polish coal to the Moroccan market.

A meeting with Minister of Ocean Fisheries and Shipping Bensalem Smili focused on cooperation in fisheries and maritime economy. Sejm deputy Tadeusz Lodykowski of Gdansk reported on Polish enterprises' interest in fishing in an over 3,000 km-long Moroccan economic zone, rich in high quality fish.

Also reviewed were possibilities of cooperation in training staff for sea economy, establishing Moroccan shipbuilding, modernizing and building ports. Stressed were favourable terms. [sentence as received]

The Polish delegation was received by Vice-Premier Zeddine Laraki, acting as premier during the absence of Premier Mohamed Karim Lamrani. Next, the delegation met with the management of a Rabat-based mining higher school.

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CSO: 4500/162

MOROCCO

SPRING SESSION OF PARLIAMENT ENDS, ACCOMPLISHMENTS REVIEWED

LD281415 Rabat MAP in English 1220 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Text] Rabat, June 28 (MAP)--The Moroccan House of Representatives Friday wound up the spring session of the ongoing legislative year.

The speaker of the house Ahmed Osman made an address on the occasion whereby he drew the balance sheet of the house's activities both inside and outside the country.

He thus recalled the 10 plenary sittings held during this session as well as the 53 sittings of the various parliamentary committees which discussed several bills and issues pertaining to education, housing, agriculture, maritime fisheries, mining, the situation of Moroccan workers abroad and others.

Osman placed special emphasis on the committee for foreign affairs, cooperation, borders, occupied territories, and defense. This committee, he said, discussed the latest developments of the issues of the kingdom's territorial integrity in light of the good will offices conducted by the UN secretary general. The committee also considered the plots being hatched by Morocco's enemies to mislead the international public opinion about Moroccan integrity, sovereignty, and institutions.

The committee also discussed the evolution and conditions of the Moroccan citizens in the northern towns still under Spanish rule, Sebta and Mellilia, M. Osman said.

He added that the House of Representatives has voiced the Moroccan people's utter support to the nationals living in Sebta and Mellilia and denounced the Spanish authorities' policy and behaviour in the two enclaves.

The Foreign Affairs Committee on the other hand dealt with Moroccan-EEC relations and took note of the government's efforts to safeguard the kingdom's interests.

M. Osman recalled that the members of this committee had visited the Saharan provinces and the front defense lines where they got informed about the socio-economic development reached by these provinces and the defensive tactics and potentialities at the disposal of the royal armed forces to drive back any attack.

The House of Representatives has released a communique condemning the U.S. air raid against Libya, M. Osman said.

The speaker of the house then dealt with the Moroccan MPs activities on the international level.

The Moroccan House of Representatives, he said, was represented at the 75th conference of the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) in Mexico, and at the 9th general conference of the African Parliamentary Union (APU) held in Cotonou, Benin.

The house also participated in the APU conference on populations and development held in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Osman said several parliamentary delegations have visited Morocco, including MPs from the European, the British, the Polish parliaments as well as a delegation from the Andean group which includes, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia.

These various delegations got acquainted with parliamentary life in Morocco, the laws and usages ruling the democratic action and popular representation in our country, and the Moroccan MPs' viewpoints on the national, regional, and international issues.

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CSO: 4500/162

MOROCCO

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO ZAIRE--Rabat, Jun 24 (MAP)--The Moroccan ambassador to Kinshasa, Abdelmajid Belaalem, presented his credentials to Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko. The Moroccan diplomat also conveyed to President Mobutu friendly greetings from King Hassan II of Morocco. The Zairian president underlined strong ties between the peoples of the two countries saying they have written in common "pages of glorious history". [Text] [Rabat MAP in English 1202 GMT 24 Jun 86 LD] /6662

CANADA, ROK, VATICAN ENVOYS--King Hassan II received three newly appointed ambassadors who presented their credentials. These are Ambassador Esmond Butler of Canada, South Korean Ambassador Han Sok-chin, and the representative of the Holy See Mgr Bernard Jacqueline. [Excerpt] [Rabat MAP in English 1202 GMT 28 Jun 86 LD] /6662

FRENCH TELECOMMUNICATIONS TRAINING--Paris, Jun 28 (MAP)--The Joint Moroccan-French commission of posts and telecommunications Friday prepared its joint program for 1987, mainly based on the organization of training cycles in France for the benefit of Moroccan managers and the setting up of a basic and continued training center. A protocol of agreement was signed by Mr Mohand Laensar, Moroccan minister of posts and telecommunications and his French counterpart Gerard Longuet. The agreement calls for strengthening training and the modernization of the Moroccan telecommunications network. [Text] [Rabat MAP in English 1211 GMT 28 Jun 86 LD] /6662

AMBASSADOR TO UAE--Abu Dhabi, Jul 2 (MAP)--The newly appointed ambassador of Morocco to the United Arab Emirates (UAE) Abdelkrim Semmar presented his credentials to Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al-Nuhayyan earlier this week. The UAE president hailed during the meeting the efforts made by King Hassan II of Morocco to cement Arab ranks and bring Arab leaders' viewpoints closer together. [Text] [Rabat MAP in English 1218 GMT 2 Jul 86 LD] /6662

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AGREEMENT--Paris, Jun 30 (MAP)--The first meeting of the Moroccan-Central African Joint Cooperation Commission was held in Bangui June 24 to 26. The meeting was held under the motto of "the excellent relations between the two countries" expressed by the heads of the two delegations, Moroccan Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Ahmed Cherkaoui, and Central African Foreign Minister Jean Louis Psimhis. It was highlighted by the

signing of a commercial agreement under which Moroccan operators can open a commercial center in Bangui. The two sides also worked out an air agreement to be initialed in July. The Moroccan air company "Royal Air Maroc" will then establish an air connection between Casablanca and Bangui. In the industrial area, the Central-African delegation requested Morocco's assistance in the sector of small and medium industries and a special assistance to set up a bureau similar to the Moroccan Bureau for Industrial Development (ODI). Sectorial draft agreements on information, health, and vocational training will shortly be finalized. Morocco will grant 37 new scholarships to Central African students. [Excerpt] [Rabat MAP in English 1225 GMT 30 Jul 86 LD] /6662

CSO: 4500/162

SUDAN

EGYPT'S 'ADOPTION' OF NUMAYRI DISCUSSED

JN301207 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1045 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Unattributed political commentary: "Numayri and the Painful Truth"]

[Text] Khartoum, 30 Jun (SUNA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak still insists that he will not hand over to the Sudan the deposed president Ja'far Numayri, whom the Egyptian Government has adopted. In other words, President Mubarak is rejecting politically a request submitted by the Sudanese Justice Legally to hand over this criminal who used Egypt as a springboard for his hostile activities against the Sudan and its popular revolution.

In view of this rejection, we feel that the visit which Ahmad al-Mirghani, chairman of the State Council, will pay to Cairo in the next few days at the invitation of President Mubarak will not achieve the desired objectives in this respect. It will merely be a traditional visit where there will be much harping on the old tune of good intentions, cordial sentiments, and the common destiny.

Actually, the persistence of the Egyptian Government, headed by Mubarak, on its stand in refusing to hand over Numayri not only constitutes a stab to the Sudanese nation, but also comes as "an Egyptian recognition" of the criminal role which was played by this man against his nation and homeland. Thus, Numayri deserved this precious reward, which is not normally given to those who claim heroism while leading their peoples to the abyss.

Egypt's action in trying to force the Sudanese people to agree to its adoption of Numayri means that Egypt prefers this criminal to the Sudan and its people. This is the bitter and painful truth, which Egypt must know when it sits at any negotiations table in the future to appraise or review the existing relations in order to place them on the correct path that serves the interests of both fraternal peoples.

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CSO: 4500/154

SUDAN

DISPARITY BETWEEN AID, PRICES OBSERVED

Khartoum SAWT AL-UMMAH in Arabic 28 May 86 p 8

[Cartoon]



Key:

1. Prices!!

2. Khalifah 'Umar [Sudanese athlete and SPORTAID runner]

/9365

CSO: 4504/365

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY APPROVES 3-MONTH BUDGET

EA010849 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 30 Jun 86

[Text] In the third meeting of its first session, the Constituent Assembly approved a draft of financial funds for advanced payments for the first 3 months of the fiscal year 1986-87 which was presented to the Assembly by the minister of finance and economic planning this evening.

The total provisional budget for the period from 1 July to 30 September 1986 is 912 million pounds. The total expenditure for the first and second sections of the budget is 707 million pounds. It has been allocated for development projects costing 200 million pounds. The government contribution to companies and joint corporations is 5 million pounds.

The minister of finance and economic planning, Dr Bashir 'Umar Fadlallah, said the government was presenting a provisional budget to the Constituent Assembly for the short period to enable the government to prepare a complete budget. He explained that when he assumed his ministerial responsibilities, he found that the budget had been prepared in the same old pattern and had not included any of the guidelines of the present government. He said that he had the choice of accepting this already prepared budget with its shortcomings and being ruled by it throughout the fiscal year, or reviewing and studying it in an attempt to include the government's guidelines. [Passage indistinct] he mentioned that the budget did not contain any additional taxes.

On the regional budgets, the minister said that when they were prepared, attention had been given to the needs of each region, taking into consideration population density, the degree of backwardness and ability to pay.

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CSO: 4500/154

SUDAN

BRIEFS

SPLA CAPTURES TRUCKS--SPLA forces of Fashoda Battalion under the command of Captain (Oyai Deng Ajak) captured two lorries that were carrying durrah [maize] and other food supplies from Malakal to outside-stationed government army garrisons. According to our correspondent accompanying Fashoda Battalion, the supplies were distributed to the local population and the lorries were set on fire. The correspondent says that SPLA authorities have warned traders in Malakal not to allow their lorries to be hired or commandeered by the government army. In principle, SPLA is not against traders selling their goods to the population in rural areas, but such traders must get licences and pay taxes to the SPLA or otherwise any lorries moving out of Malakal without prior approval from SPLA will be confiscated, warned the SPLA authorities. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 30 Jun 86 EA] /6662

CSO: 4500/154

TUNISIA

WORK OF TUNISIAN-GERMAN CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Tunis REALITES in French 23 May 86 pp 27-28

[Interview with Klaus Volker Schuurman, secretary general of the Tunisian-German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, by Bahij Bachir; date and place not given]

[Text] The Tunisian-German Chamber of Industry and Commerce, established on 30 April 1979 in Tunis, has today become a pilot program in the realm of bilateral cooperation between Tunisia and the FRG. In this interview, Mr Klaus Volker Schuurman, secretary general of the Chamber, outlined the volume of trade exchange between the two countries for us.

[Question] Cooperation between Tunisia and the FRG in the realm of commerce and industry is based on a realistic policy of mutual interest. Can we ask you to sketch for us the volume of trade exchange between Tunisia and the FRG?

[Answer] Trade exchange between Tunisia and the FRG developed as follows in 1984 and 1985. Tunisian exports to the FRG in 1984 came to about 663 German marks (about 184 million Tunisian dinars), while in the 1985, there was a slight decline to 605 million German marks. Moreover, Tunisian imports from the FRG came to 946 million German marks in 1984 and 993 million in 1985.

One can see, however, that while imports from the FRG stabilized, Tunisian exports to the FRG, on the contrary, dropped 10 percent.

The Tunisian products exported to the FRG in 1985 were textiles (more than 50 percent), oil (around 10 percent), leather and shoes (8 percent) and carpets (2.2 percent).

With regard to Tunisian imports of German products, one might mention by way of example industrial machinery (17 percent), vehicles (13 percent) and chemical products (8 percent).

[Question] The Tunisian-German Chamber is a somewhat unique experiment of its sort. Can you tell us what philosophy underlies its goal of increasing and diversifying the level of trade and industrial exchange between the two countries?

[Answer] The Tunisian-German Chamber was established in Tunis on 30 April 1979, and its philosophy calls for promoting the establishment of industry in Tunisia, the export of Tunisian industrial, agricultural and craft products to the FRG, and trade relations between German enterprises and Tunisia. And one of our goals is in fact to achieve equilibrium in the trade balance between the two countries.

[Question] In the light of this rich and fruitful experience, what are the present and future options which are likely to make a contribution to the Seventh Tunisian Plan?

[Answer] I think that the FRG, because of its economic structure and that of its enterprises, is a partner of likely interest to the Tunisian economy. It seems to me it could make a valuable contribution, aiding Tunisia in the present situation to achieve the goals of the Seventh Plan. In this connection, I should remind you that Tunisian-German cooperation, which is multidimensional, is characterized by its extent and continuity in the realms of rural development, improved productivity in farming and fishing, and drinking water supply systems. This cooperation is also characterized by the encouragement of small and average businesses with a high proportion of manpower, through the promotion and financing of investment projects likely to contribute to the improvement of the Tunisian balance of payments.

[Question] While the Tunisian-German Chamber has proved successful on the bilateral level, the fact nonetheless remains that there are also negative factors which have come into play, creating a major obstacle to the marketing of Tunisian and Moroccan products in the EEC countries. I am thinking in particular of the expansion of the EEC to include Spain and Portugal.

What role can the FRG play in encouraging its European partners to revise their economic and trade policies toward the countries of the Maghreb, in view of the economic weight the FRG has within the EEC?

[Answer] The expansion of the EEC to include Spain and Portugal continues to create very keen concerns on the part of the countries in the Maghreb. In fact, they fear that this expansion may be effected at their expense, thus threatening the economic and trade relations which link them with the EEC countries. Now these relations are of capital importance to the prosperity and development of such countries as Tunisia and Morocco. It is also important to note that 50 percent of Morocco's exports and 60 percent of the exports of Tunisia involve textiles or farm food products, including canned goods, olive oil, wines and early garden crops. It is clear that Moroccan and Tunisian production depends basically on exports to the EEC, which means that in the coming years, Tunisia and Morocco must be able to continue to export the products they have always shipped to the EEC. Therefore the EEC will have to adopt a position and operate within a framework of cooperation with the countries in the Maghreb. The FRG, which has a very open attitude toward the free exchange of consumer goods, and which opposes protectionist measures, will see to it that its European partners hear the voice of reason.

TUNISIA

COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIAL ON POLITICAL, ELECTORAL SITUATION

Tunis REALITES in French 23 May 86 pp 22-23

[Interview with Hichem Skik, member, Political Bureau, Tunisian Communist Party, by Majda Mazek; date and place not given]

[Text] This week, we heard from Mr Hichem Skik, a member of the Political Bureau of the Tunisian Communist Party.

We continue to believe that all Tunisians who respect the law and the constitution have the right to express their opinions and analyses responsibly. Whether they are in the government, independent or members of the opposition, they deserve to be heard, for the only danger lies in the failure to communicate.

[Question] What is your analysis of the political situation?

[Answer] In my opinion the situation in our country is serious and disturbing. It is serious above all where freedom is concerned--the dismantled trade union, and trade unionists imprisoned or dismissed from their work; the close surveillance of political parties and the harassment of their members and leaders, who are sometimes arrested and imprisoned; the takeover and suspension of newspapers and court prosecution of their directors and editors. The situation is also worrisome, because all of these problems exist against a background of acute structural economic crisis aggravated by external factors, in addition to the succession issue, which is taking on substantial dimensions.

Thus without being particularly alarmist, one might regard Tunisia as passing through an area of "heavy turbulence, with the outcome unclear."

[Question] How would you analyze the trade union situation following the last Tunisian General Federation of Labor (UGTT) Congress?

[Answer] To call the last organized meeting a "congress" is in my view an abuse of the term. Speaking about a "congress of the UGTT" is an illusion or a deception!

In any case, this meeting will leave no trace on the history of the trade union movement, in my opinion.

[Question] How do you see the role of the opposition, given this kind of political and economic situation?

[Answer] In my view, it is in difficult situations that the role the opposition plays is the most valuable to the country.

When things are developing more or less normally, there are some who tend to "forget" or neglect the opposition. But when there are difficulties, people remember the opposition, appeal to it, and even appear to seek it out. Governments, above all in the underdeveloped countries, are too much inclined to cloud the difficulties and failures by stressing their successes and the more favorable aspects.

In such a situation, the role of the opposition is to criticize, with clarity, courage and without back thought, and to propose solutions and even alternatives for these problems. And, finally, it must create the conditions required for the necessary changes to come about, and so that popular aspirations will be a real force in making the desired changes inevitable.

The opposition role is thus, in my view, a healthy one. If it is allowed to develop, the country will be spared dead-end situations, serious crises and convulsions, thanks to the alternatives offered by the opposition.

Moreover, we believe that the problems should not necessarily be approached in dualistic opposition-government terms, because men of goodwill who belong to the Destourian Socialist Party (PSD) can make a positive contribution. Thus we believe that, in view of the perils which threaten our country, a broad rally is necessary, and we have just issued an appeal to this effect.

We are witnessing an almost continuous challenge of what the "open democratic approach" has meant. The arrests of the members of political parties have in practice never ceased completely, but the most recent arrests reveal a more worrisome meaning and trend.

Arresting the secretary general of a political party is a step designed to create fear in political party members and sympathizers, and to curtail their activity drastically.

As to the arrest and secret detention for almost 2 weeks of Boujemaa Remili, a member of the Central Committee of the Tunisian Communist Party, this took place under conditions which clearly illustrate the slide toward a dangerous situation.

[Question] Do you believe that the PCT and all the other political parties in the opposition are representative?

[Answer] It is normal for each party to claim to be representative. My personal belief is that the PSD and opposition parties, whether recognized or not, are representative (of interests, social strata, and shades of opinion).

As to knowing which is the most representative, the only way in my opinion is to organize truly free elections and then analyze the results.

[Question] Do you think the coming elections will develop democratically?

[Answer] The regularity or irregularity of the balloting depends in general on two main factors.

1. Acceptance of the rules of the game by the government in office; and
2. The mobilization of public opinion to discourage any effort to reject these rules.

For Tunisia, and where this first factor is concerned, the ball is in the government's court, but what is happening currently does not encourage optimism (the suspension of Al-Tariq Al-Jadid and Al-Mustaqbal).

With regard to the second factor, I will say frankly that this mobilization is inadequate. The public mobilized in 1981, although it could not prevent the falsification of the results, remains affected by this trauma and no longer has much confidence in the elections. All of the democratic forces have the duty to struggle to put an end to this disillusionment and to ensure that these practices will not occur again.

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JORDAN

PARLIAMENTARY LEADER COMMENTS ON VARIETY OF SUBJECTS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 16 Jun 86 pp 25-26

[Interview with 'Akif al-Fayiz by Yusuf Rahal: "Land In Exchange for Peace, This Is What King Husayn Is Seeking"; in London, date not specified]

[Text] If the Palestinian problem is an urgent Arab concern, in Jordan it is a personal concern and an unending pain. This is not to say that it revolves in a parochial regional circle. On the contrary, Jordan is well aware that this concern has to be an Arab one in the belief outlined by Jordanian officials on every occasion and in every statement, and that without unity of Arab effort and position, Israel will persist in its rejection and the ruling military establishment there will go on creating Arab-Arab conflicts and polarizing the area ad infinitum. Hence, war cannot be waged without this solidarity, neither can peace be established without it. Therefore, Jordan's policy has always aimed at prompt movement in every direction and out of fear of the time element, Husayn said that this year must bring the matter to an end--let the peace process begin.

AL-DUSTUR met with Mr 'Akir al-Fayiz who is on a visit to London. Besides his patent history of nationalism, he is always and forever close to the decision-makers or is a participant in the Jordanian decision-making process. The interview focused on all these matters.

[Question] How does the Jordanian speaker of parliament assess the parliament and relations with the parliaments in the Arab nation?

[Answer] Parliamentary life in Jordan has a long history. It began assuming a democratic form through direct elections ever since independence, or half a century ago. We in Jordan are proud of the Jordanian constitution which is considered to be modern and sophisticated. It goes by the rule that the nation is the source of authority and a part of the Arab nation. As for our relations with Arab parliaments, they were and still are based on concern for Arab solidarity and on the intent to fulfill an effective role in the service of political and legislative Arab issues. Such solidarity assumed concrete form during the 14th parliamentary conference, held in Amman this year and chaired by me, through a consensus on unity of position and decision. The conference formed a committee under my chairmanship, in my capacity as president of the federation for this session, for the purpose of consolidating Arab solidarity, clearing the Arab air, and following up the implementation

of decisions. One outcome of this conference was the unification of the Arab position on questions brought before the International Parliamentary Federation conference which was held this year in Mexico.

[Question] Is it noted that the policy these days is to move in all directions and it seems that inaction is against Jordanian policy. In your view, where does this constant movement lead?

[Answer] The policy charted by Jordan and led by King Husayn is based on an intent to preserve Arab solidarity in facing Arab and international issues. Through its long march, Jordan has played a prominent part in an attempt to clear the air and unify the ranks. We hope that the initiative led by his majesty will unite efforts and mobilize Arab capabilities in confronting the challenges facing our nation in the international and Arab arenas.

[Question] Jordanian relations with the PLO are broken despite numerous Palestinian attempts to mend the rift following the February agreement's failure and King Husayn's statement that talks would not be resumed. Is there another path Jordan is pursuing alone?

[Answer] Jordanian-Palestinian relations are a relationship of destiny. They stem from Jordan's belief, on the royal, popular, and official levels that the Palestinian question is the number one issue that is foremost on its mind. Jordan's relations with the PLO stem from its deeply-rooted principles for liberating the land and the people from Israeli occupation. Jordan has achieved great success in this regard in the international arena and has won more support for the cause and more friends. Jordan's fixed declared policy will not change and is based on the principle of land for peace as called for in an international conference of the UN and attended by the five permanent Security Council members and the parties to the conflict, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Our means to this end are marked by clarity and constant and discriminating dynamism.

[Question] It has been said that Syrian-Jordanian relations came about at the expense of Jordanian-Palestinian and Jordanian-Egyptian relations. So what, in your opinion, does Jordan want from Syria and vice-versa?

[Answer] Jordanian-Syrian relations can be traced to a natural relationship that governs Jordanian policy in Arab relations. This is in addition to that relationship which is marked by geographic extension and economic integration. Jordan believes that the restoration of normal relations supports and strengthens Arab issues, in the forefront of which is its central issue, the question of Palestine.

[Question] King Husayn stated that this year is the year of the last chance except that no one can tell what new tragedies the future holds in view of the Likud's ascension to power in Israel and the only thing on the horizon is the Peres plan.

[Answer] Jordan's policy in its confrontation with the enemy and the peace process is based on clear and established principles unaffected by any plans emanating from here and there.

[Question] The Arab-European dialogue has failed to drive the Palestinian question into the European contingent's mind.

[Answer] The fact that the Arab question has not made its way to the European contingent's mind is not the fault of the Arab parliaments alone. Rather, it is a joint Arab responsibility for embarking on a political, diplomatic, and media initiative. The Arab League must adopt a more active role in this domain, keeping in mind that the European parliament has adopted numerous positive resolutions in support of the Palestinian cause, and members of Arab parliaments have played an outstanding role in this regard.

[Question] News agencies have reported various versions of the Jordanian university incidents. What did actually happen?

[Answer] The Yarmuk University events are the kind of student incidents that occur in all universities world-wide, nothing more. Some hostile media, however, had an interest in distorting the facts and projecting the wrong picture.

[Question] The recent Palestinian separatist movement led by Abu-al-Za'im has been portrayed as backed by the Jordanian government as an undermining of Yasir 'Arafat's authority. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Jordan does not interfere in the PLO's internal affairs and is always intent on preserving PLO unity and efficacy within the framework of national pan-Arab interests.

[Question] How are West Bank deputies elected to the Jordanian Parliament although some of them have no influence with occupied territory residents and do not carry any weight?

[Answer] The parliament of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan represents the people of both banks via free and direct elections. However, due to Israeli occupation, efforts have been made to maintain this representation. The law has been amended to guarantee the maintenance of existing relations between citizens and their representatives to the benefit of the people on both banks. This is due to a desire to preserve a cohesive unity in confronting enemy designs aimed at the Judaization of the territory and the forced emigration of its population.

[Question] Allow me, Mr Speaker, to bring up a matter reported by the news agencies that Jordan is tightening its grip on the Palestinians.

[Answer] No, this is not true and is part of psychological and media warfare being waged by anti-Arab circles out of a desire to create further fragmentation and dissension in the Arab ranks.

[Question] Talks between Husayn and President Hafiz al-Asad dealt with the northern front issue, is that not correct?

[Answer] Jordanian-Syrian relations are aimed at furthering Arab interests and strength and a desire to safeguard the cohesion of the domestic front.

[Question] The two points of contention between Jordan and Syria were the PLO and the Iraq-Iran war. How much progress has the dialogue regarding these two points achieved?

[Answer] Jordanian-Syrian relations and the Jordanian-Syrian dialogue are based on what unites the Arabs and not on what separates them. We have strong hopes that the coming days will underscore and reinforce this principle.

[Question] Do you think that an Egyptian-Jordanian-Palestinian summit to bring points of view closer together is on the horizon, keeping in mind that Egypt has dropped from the Camp David Accords the Palestinian section that deals with autonomy?

[Answer] I am optimistic about this nation's rise and future and the ability of its leaders to surmount their differences.

[Question] What do you think about the statement by Gaza mayor al-Shawwa about Gaza's return to Egypt?

[Answer] This question should be directed to al-Shawwa, not me.

[Question] What is your comment on [British Prime Minister] Thatcher's recent visit to Israel, on her statements, and on her meetings with Palestinians from the occupied territories?

[Answer] We are watching the results and I have no comment at present.

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JORDAN

DETAILS GIVEN ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Dubay AL-BAYAN in Arabic 21 Apr 86 p 3

[Article: "Ambitious Jordanian Development Plans for Agricultural Sector Until 1990"]

[Text] An annual production growth rate of 8 percent is the key objective set in the new Jordanian 5-year plan with regard to the agricultural sector. It is the 1986-1990 plan which gives clear priority to strengthening agricultural production in the country.

By all standards, experts believe that this objective reflects great ambitions. It aims to create an upturn in the annual net income from the Jordanian agricultural sector to 108 million Jordanian dinars [JD], or \$321 million, compared to 76 million JD in the 1980-1985 5-year plan.

According to a new report published in the London "Middle East Economic Digest [MEED]," this planned increase is the main focus of the Amman government's endeavors to strengthen the rural economy and reduce current massive dependence on food imports.

This publication, which is concerned with economic affairs in the Middle East, points out that the new 5-year plan in Jordan seeks to realize a significant rise in production rates in various parts of the country's agricultural sector.

Expansion of Plan Investments

According to the draft plan, spending on agricultural projects is estimated at 337 million JD, 117 million of which will be assumed by the public sector and 220 million by the private sector.

The Jordanian government is also planning to raise these sums through additional appropriations of 130 million JD during the 5 years, provided that this amount is used to meet the costs of dam construction projects, in addition to 105 million JD for irrigation projects, including the one for widening the canal in the Jordan Valley.

Furthermore, 12 million JD will be earmarked for the development of water resources and this will raise the plan's overall figure for investments in the Jordanian agricultural sector as of 1990 to 580 million JD.

The new plan's ambition in the field of agriculture can be perceived by comparing the above figure with investments earmarked for the same sector in the 1980-1985 plan which was basically limited to 233 million JD at a time when the size of actual spending for that year did not exceed 182 million JD.

Private Sector Role

It is noteworthy that the Jordanian private sector's contribution to financing agricultural investments during the last plan exceeded the original goal by 105 percent while the public sector contribution was only 43 percent of the original goal.

The MEED report points out that the deficiency in government spending within the scope of the past plan was due to the fact that the plan included a number of agricultural projects whose special studies had not been completed.

In contrast, the new 5-year plan includes a set of criteria, within the framework of specific precepts, that exclude projects not backed by comprehensive studies.

Experts believe that these precepts will lead to a jump in the completion rate of agricultural products originally included in the plan.

Officials of the Jordanian Agricultural Financing Corporation believe that specific opportunities exist for the substantial development of agricultural production from now until the end of 1990.

Cultivation of New Land

At the top of the list is the objective cultivating up to 200,000 dunums (20,000 hectares) of new government land in the southern and eastern parts of the country. Jordanian experts believe that this project will greatly contribute to higher grain and fodder production, in addition to the expansion of red meat production at an unprecedented rate.

Moreover, irrigation projects under construction in the Jordan Valley are expected to lead to the cultivation of additional areas of up to 114,000 dunums (11,400 hectares) which are particularly suited for growing fruit and vegetable growing, in addition to the capability for expanding grain farming.

On the other hand, Jordanian agricultural production may be raised at a minimum annual rate of 5 percent through the use of fertilizers and insecticides, besides the development of current agricultural methods and concentration on research and better services offered by competent authorities to this sector's producers.

Grains in Particular

Some estimates point to the possibility of raising grain production in some areas by up to 50 percent through better quality seeds, improved agricultural methods, and added service.

Even with regard to grain production that relies on rain water, specialists expect production rates to increase by at least 5 percent annually due to developmental projects included in the 1985-1990 plan.

Jordanian agricultural experts expect that developments underway in the agricultural sector's infrastructure will contribute to higher investment return rates as well as higher production rates.

The development plan to be carried out during the 5-year plan includes the improvement of all aspects of agricultural projects, from production to services to marketing, in a way that guarantees, according to Jordanian planners, a qualitative and quantitative jump in agricultural production in all fields until the end of the decade.

Agricultural Loan Rules

On another level, the Jordanian government has turned to the development of agricultural loan procedures to provide producers with the desired incentives while, at the same time, achieving higher production goals through fixed rules and guaranteeing the improvement of the quality and size of agricultural projects in the various fields.

According to the MEED report, private sector investment will have attractive opportunities to participate in agricultural projects with lucrative returns, particularly in fruit production, animal wealth development, and grain projects.

Some experts believe that Jordan may be compelled, because of the stiff competition which the local agricultural producers face, to apply some of the subsidy methods to benefit the local producers, especially as regards vegetable production and some of the other produce. Experts believe as well that Jordanian officials may, at a subsequent stage, study the matter of subsidizing agricultural parts to assist farmers in penetrating new foreign markets.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

DEMOCRATIC FRONT LEADER ON FUTURE OF LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 20 Jun 86 pp 30-32

[Interview with Nayif Hawatimah, head of Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine, by L.F.: "The Dialogue Will Determine Who Is Standing alongside Palestine and Who Is Acting against It"]

[Text] Over the past months, the leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine has been exerting intensified efforts to restore unity to the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organization and has made earnest efforts among a number of leaders toward the attainment of Palestinian national unity. In the recent period his efforts have occurred in conjunction with those that countries and governments, foremost among them the Soviet Union and Algeria, have been exerting.

For 2 hours, Nayif Hawatimah talked to AL-HAWADITH about these efforts and contacts and discussed the subject of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon by means of what is known as the war of the camps.

In this conversation:

AL-HAWADITH: Let me begin this meeting with a question about Palestinian national unity. During the past months contacts have been numerous and intensified. What have you achieved so far? What are the possibilities for achieving Palestinian national unity in the foreseeable future?

Nayif Hawatimah: Let us enter into this issue directly. We as a national liberation movement of necessity require the unity of all the classes of our people in all their ideological, political and organizational identities. Therefore, Palestinian national unity is a pressing requirement for us. Indeed, it is the major factor for victory over the direct and long term. In the event Palestinian national unity is lacking, we must directly infer that our struggle will be subject to failure, not success. This has been our people's experience over the stretch of the last 80 years, and it has proved that the more national unity is lacking, the greater the losses and catastrophes that occur in our people's ranks and their national cause, and the more national unity is present the greater the steps we make on the road

toward realizing our people's right to return to their country, gain self-determination and build their independent Palestinian national state. These are also the experiences of other peoples, all the peoples who have struggled for the sake of national liberation, self-determination and independence. This is first of all.

Secondly, we must point out clearly that the sum of the major achievements the Palestine Liberation Organization realized in the late sixties and throughout the period of the seventies took place in the context of Palestine national unity, since the Liberation Organization was comprised of all the classes of our people, with all their currents, and all its leading legislative and executive institutions were made up of the forces, powers and figures who spoke for our people. This of necessity gave birth to a decisive rallying of all the Palestinian people around the Palestine Liberation Organization in its function as the true force speaking for this people and its national aspirations, indeed, in its function as this people's provisional nation in the areas of refuge and diaspora and as far as our people in the occupied Palestinian territories are concerned.

Therefore, this decisive rallying of forces is what provided the Liberation Organization its solid new character as our people's sole representative, imposing itself subsequently at the Algiers summit and the Rabat summit in an all-inclusive Arab endorsement recognizing the Liberation Organization as sole legitimate representative. This opened the gates wide to international endorsements, represented by the resolutions of nonalignment, the African summit and the socialist countries, especially the Soviets, and the endorsement by more than 130 countries in the world, enabling the organization to enter the United Nations. For the first time in the history of the Palestinian people, they had someone to speak for themselves as their sole legitimate representative. This all took place in the context of Palestinian national unity; had that been lacking none of this would have been accomplished.

Third, we must draw the lesson from the 3 recent lean years in the life of the Liberation Organization and our national cause, in particular in the course of 1985, the year of the accursed Amman agreement. These lean years have clearly emphasized that the absence of national unity leads to extensive deterioration in our people's struggle and in the decisive rallying of forces in the Arab and international frameworks around this struggle. Indeed, we tell you frankly, the Palestine national cause is now in the background in many Arab and international areas and gatherings, and reverence for the organization has been shaken in many Palestinian, Arab and international contexts.

Therefore we observe in many international conferences that the Palestine cause has become a fifth-class and sometimes 10th-class issue while many other causes have taken precedence over it, such as the causes of South Africa, Nicaragua and many others which are preoccupying world public opinion, all this because of the fragmentation which has occurred in the organization and the absence of national unity.

Fourth, we must observe that the organization's lack of unity has also led to the lack of Arab solidarity, because the absence of the central issue

which concerns all Arab peoples and countries on the stage of events, that is, Palestinian national unity, has led to the absence of the central cause which brings all Arabs together. Therefore, we observe that Arab solidarity has suffered a great blow during these 3 years since the rift in the organization occurred and none of the efforts which have been exerted to restore Arab solidarity have achieved success, because the central cause which brings together the Arab countries, on grounds that it is the national common denominator of all the peoples of our Arab nation, has been absent due to the organization's lack of unity.

This was clearly apparent when the invitation was sent out to the Casablanca summit, which remained an inadequate summit and did not manage to adopt any serious political resolutions because these took the people who were absent and public opinion in the ranks of our Arab peoples into consideration. That also happened when the impudent American aggression on Libya took place. Libya and Algeria tried to call for the convening of an Arab summit, then recourse was also sought with Morocco, on grounds that it was the center of the recent Fez summit, in the hopes of holding an Arab summit. None of these attempts realized success, and it was clear to the world that it was in the power of American imperialism to launch an aggression with total freedom against a small independent Arab country without being confronted with Arab deterrent forces, even in their minimal form. This exposed Libya and Syria to American and expansionist Israeli threats of aggression against Syria and the Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

As a result of these factors, in combination, we once again state that the unity of the organization is a Palestinian national necessity and a national necessity for the sake of our common struggle in the Middle East. After that, I can say that efforts aimed at restoring the organization's unity have been unremitting. However, we must observe that the gates which were opened in 1984 came up against a group of Arab regional obstacles which sought to keep the Algiers-Aden agreement from being applied, because its application would mean the stiffening of the Palestine Liberation Organization's political conditions. This is what was said about all the Amman and Cairo efforts to draw the organization in the direction of meeting the American solution halfway. The attempts to carry out democratic reform in the organization's leadership institutions and guarantee collective leadership in accordance with the Aden agreement also clashed with the right flank of the organization, which relied on a number of forces of Arab reaction. Consequently, this flank did not want to confine itself to the program of national consensus, but indeed wanted to rush headlong to meet the American solution halfway. This resulted in the failure to apply the Algiers-Aden agreement.

Now, in the current circumstances, after the 3 lean years of the Liberation Organization schism and more than a year of the accursed Amman agreement, we observe that the objective opportunities for realizing the unity of the Liberation Organization have opened up once again.

The 'Arafat-Husayn talks collapsed and King Husayn took the initiative on 19 February 1986 of declaring the suspension of political coordination with the current leadership in the organization. His justification for this position

was that this leadership did not respond to the American conditions which Murphy had brought and King Husayn had passed on. These conditions mean, most plainly, meeting the American solution halfway and carrying out a process of wedding the Reagan plan to the Amman agreement, as it was made or in accordance with the promises which were uttered by Amman, Cairo and Western Europe to the current leadership of the Liberation Organization, making it rush to sign the Amman agreement, along with the illusions preoccupying it that the possibility existed as a result of these promises that the American administration would then meet it halfway -- which, again, were illusory.

It became apparent that the current Liberation Organization leadership had to continue the mission to its conclusion by accepting all the American conditions. This clearly means eliminating the organization, eliminating the Palestinian people's right to return and obtain self-determination and an independent country, and eliminating the Palestinian people's independent representation. It clearly means giving agreement to separate bilateral talks under the oversight of the United States of America in accordance with the Camp David agreements and the Reagan plan. At this point the organization's current leadership found that it could not swallow this great draught of poison and could not make the Palestinian people and all the fraternal and friendly forces supporting our people's rights to self-determination swallow it. Therefore, it refrained from continuing the mission to its conclusion, and this led to the collapse of these talks.

This all created objective circumstances for the possibility that the organization's unity would be restored. The people who sowed illusions, expecting a fruitful harvest of American solutions, ended up in failure and a dead end. The people who ventured early to assume pessimistically that the current leadership was finished and that it had put everything it had in the American basket found that our people's struggle against the Amman agreement and against the pursuit of the American solutions throughout 1985, the fraternal forces' firm support of these people's struggle and the support of the international forces concerned with their rights all bore fruit in the suspension of these American attempts in the middle of the road and led to the collapse of the talks between Jordan and the organization.

AL-HAWADITH: Excuse me. Are we to understand from this that the suspension of Palestinian-Jordanian coordination was the key or the gateway after which the talk about realizing Palestinian national unity began, and before that this was not possible?

Nayif Hawatimah: That is correct. Suspension of this coordination has opened the way a full year after the signing of the Amman agreement. This way was not open in the context of the the organization's current leadership's insistence on applying the Amman agreement, whereas the way had been open before the signing of the Amman agreement, and therefore our activities on behalf of restoring the organization's unity took place throughout 1983-1984. This bore fruit with the signing of the Algiers-Amman agreement by the democratic alliance and the FATAH central committee. However, this agreement was thwarted by the Palestinian right-wing forces in the organization and the Arab reactionary axes which did not want this agreement to see the light of day, because it would stiffen the organization's political positions on a

foundation of national consensus and the Algiers session resolutions and would lead to democratic reform in the organization's leadership institution and the elimination of individual and factional policy in favor of the collective leadership. Starting with the signing of the February 1985 agreement, the way was closed to the possibility of the restoration of the organization's unity.

This dialogue will make it exactly clear who really wants to go back to the program of national consensus, to unity, and who still is laying mines along the road to this unity. We at that point will be supported by Imam 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib's statement, "I am making the disclosure in the name of God, so that the good will stand out from the evil and the evil will stand out from the good." At that point, if we realize the success of dialogue on firm democratic national and organizational bases, we will have achieved the restoration of the organization's unity, and this will mean the unity of our people in all its classes, from the base to the summit, with all its currents. If this dialogue is not a success, it will be clearly and precisely revealed who is putting up obstacles in the way of the restoration of the organization's unity. At this moment, it will be confirmed anew who is devoted to national unity, so that he will acquire a further broadening of the Palestinian mass base which has rallied about him, and who is the obstacle, in order to narrow the base around him more and more, until he is totally isolated.

AL-HAWADITH: Therefore you support dialogue and are exerting your efforts on behalf of intra-Palestinian dialogue. Could you talk to us a little about the contacts which have been made among the parties concerned?

Nayif Hawatimah: In this field, we in the Democratic Front and the democratic alliance have embarked on an unremitting series of efforts in the past few months and weeks with all the forces of the Palestinian resistance without exception. We started these with a dialogue with the Salvation Front in combination and with each force of the Salvation Front. We continued with the central committee of the FATAH movement. Here we must make a very important basic observation, which is that the totality of Palestine Liberation Organization institutions is now in the hands of the FATAH central committee, with an alliance with a Palestinian haute bourgeois class, while since the Palestine Liberation Organization schism all the democratic forces and many of the Palestinian national forces have been standing outside the organization.

That in turn has led to a total monopolization of all the Liberation Organization's institutions by the FATAH central committee. We must also note that the current Liberation Organization leadership consists of FATAH and a number of Palestinian haute bourgeois figures. Therefore, FATAH has been compelled to make it seem on the surface as if it alone is the actual leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and it has expressed that through the permanent joint meetings between the current executive committee and the FATAH central committee to manage the Palestine Liberation Organization's affairs.

The objective of this basic observation is to underline the fact that the Liberation Organization is now in the hands of a segment of the resistance,

a force in the Palestinian resistance and part of the revolution, and consequently speaks for part of the Palestinian people, and not all the Palestinian people, because many basic Palestinian forces are still removed from everyday decisionmaking in the Palestine Liberation Organization. This has appeared on the surface in particular since the holding of the notorious Amman council, which deepened the Palestinian rifts and enabled the central committee in FATAH to monopolize the organization's current leadership.

Therefore our current discussions are aimed at ending the current leadership's hegemony of the organization's institutions and reconstituting the Liberation Organization's leadership from all the Palestinian national forces, powers and figures, that is, having the organization once again become a truly broad national front speaking for all the classes of our people and having the Liberation Organization once again truly express its identity as our people's sole legitimate representative.

AL-HAWADITH: Your contacts have included countries that are anxious to aid the Palestinian people, such as the Soviet Union, Syria, Algeria and so forth. What is these countries' position and have the contacts with them yielded positive results?

Nayif Hawatimah: We in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine proceed basically from the need to unify all the forces fighting on the front line against Israeli occupation and expansionism and reactionary and American solutions of capitulation. This of necessity requires the rectification of the alliances between the independent, national, unified single organization and Syria and the Lebanese and Jordanian national democratic forces. All these forces stand on the front line in the struggle to crush the occupation and compel Washington and Tel Aviv to retreat, accept Arab rights to regain all Arab territories occupied since the June 1967 aggression without condition or restriction and guarantee the Palestinian people's rights to return to their country and exercise self-determination in their independent country, as the majority of the countries of the world, foremost among them the countries of the socialist system, in particular the Soviet Union, has advocated. We in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine also proceed from the need to formulate the organization's alliances with all forces fighting against imperialism, Zionism, racism and reaction in this world. We are a small people, 40 percent of whom have remained on the land under occupation and 60 percent of whom are in the refugee and diaspora areas. In order for them to triumph in their struggle they must realize the four basic conditions for victory: unity of organization, the establishment of proper alliances with the front line forces, the establishment of proper alliances with all forces fighting for the triumph of the Palestinian people's rights internationally and throughout the world and the use of the proper methods of struggle for the sake of victory, since armed struggle constitutes the main form of our struggle. These are the four conditions of victory which will guarantee the triumph of our people and our Arab nation, as they have guaranteed triumph for all the peoples which have fought for the sake of wresting and restoring their rights to existence, self-determination and national independence.

These bases from which we proceed are the ones which of necessity require our permanent daily consultation with Syria and the other forces on the

front line. I single Syria out because it is the combative base on the front line and rejects the American solutions of surrender and the Zionist Israeli expansionist solutions, from Camp David to the Amman agreement, passing through the Reagan plan, and because the experience of struggle is a major requirement for our success, the success of our people on the basis of fraternal alliance in accordance with the national common denominator without the co-optation of one party by another. We sense that everyone fully realizes that the unity of the organization is a necessity one cannot bypass. We also sense that the objective conditions constitute fertile ground for the struggle to regain this unity among the forces of the resistance. However, at the same time, we sense that there is a difference in views on how to restore the organization's unity and we are convinced that this difference can be transcended and eliminated through dialogue, when all the forces of the Palestinian resistance meet without a veto from anyone against anyone, in Damascus or any national Arab capital which invites us. Dialogue will guarantee that this difference is resolved, and any waste of time will be a loss for all the forces which are concerned with strengthening the organization's political positions.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the Soviet Union's role?

Nayif Hawatimah: In the international context, especially with the Soviet Union, we must observe that the Soviet position has been characterized by wisdom and revolutionary realism vis-a-vis the problems in the Liberation Organization since the start of 1983, especially since the rift at the start of 1983, since the Soviet Union in perseverant, forbearing fashion has called for the rapid, and it often has said immediate, restoration of the organization's unity, because it has seen the extensive map of the world with its penetrating vision and considered that the absence of unity in the organization would of necessity lead to a violent blow to international reverence for it, which would of necessity lead to the weakening of reverence for the Palestinian national cause and the crisis of the Middle East. Therefore, the Soviet Union has taken the initiative of calling first of all for a rapid restoration of the organization's unity on the basis of the organization's program of hostility to imperialism, Zionism and reaction and secondly the correction of the Liberation Organization's alliances with the Arab countries on the basis of the Arab summit resolutions and the need for alliance between the organization and Syria on the basis of the common struggle against the common enemy, represented by American imperialist solutions, Israeli expansionist solutions and bilateral deals.

It has expressed these positions through an uninterrupted series of political contacts with all the forces of the Palestinian resistance and the Arab capitals which have various relations with them. The early visit of Haidar Aliev, the first deputy prime minister and member of the political bureau of the Soviet Communist Party, to Syria early in 1984 occurred in this context. Soviet efforts, which were the subject of discussion with all the Arab and Palestinian leaders who reached Moscow and through the medium of contacts taking place through other channels, have also have occurred in succession in this context. The Soviet Union has become preoccupied with two basic issues which included keeping the Middle East issue alive, noisy and regular. The first issue is the unity of the Palestinian resistance and the unity of

the organization on bases hostile to imperialism, Zionism and reaction, because the Palestinian cause, aside from being a just cause, is the central link in all Middle East crises. Without the Palestine cause, the Middle East issue would immediately be transformed into a border issue between Israel and the Arab countries, and at that point it would be resolved in accordance with the rule of land in exchange for peace conditions, in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

Meanwhile, the Palestine cause has special distinction. It is the cause of a people who have the right to self-determination, an independent state and the right of independent representation. The approach to all this is to keep the Palestinian national movement unified in the sole legitimate context which all the Arab countries and the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world recognize, that is, the Palestine Liberation Organization. The second issue on which the Soviet Union insists is that of Arab solidarity on the basis of the common struggle among the Arab countries against the common enemy which is occupying Arab and Palestinian territories and depriving the people of Palestine of their national rights and sustaining everyday official international terrorism against the people of Palestine in the occupied territories and the refugee and diaspora areas in the camps and against the neighboring Arab countries.

The Soviet Union considers these two issues central to the elements of victory for the people of Palestine and the Arab countries and elements aimed at compelling America and Israel to give in to the convening of an international conference to resolve the Middle East crisis on the basis of the Palestinian people's rights.

AL-HAWADITH: Approximately a month has elapsed since the 'Arafat-Gorbachev meeting. Have you become aware of tangible results in actual conditions?

Nayif Hawatimah: We have become aware of the effects of this meeting, which represents a prominent link in the unrelenting series of Soviet efforts to restore the organization's unity. Many members of the FATAH central committee have announced the substance of this meeting and this matter is very important, since they have stressed that Gorbachev insisted on the need to restore the organization's unity and the need for Arab solidarity to confront the American and Israeli policy of force in the Middle East region. These people have also stressed that Gorbachev asserted that the Soviet Union supports the Algiers initiative, in which it sees an exceptional golden opportunity for rapid action for the sake of restoring unity. Algeria has no special interests on the Palestinian stage and it is possible that the discussion and dialogue could take place on its territory in full democratic atmosphere in order to make the dialogue a success and restore the organization's unity.

AL-HAWADITH: How do you view the issue of the Palestinian presence on the Lebanese stage?

Nayif Hawatimah: First off, we must distinguish between the Palestinian presence in Lebanon after 1982 and this presence before 1982. Before 1982, the south of Lebanon represented the direct lines of contact between us and the

Zionist enemy; therefore, the revolution, and all the Lebanese national forces alongside it, enlisted in the unrelenting common struggle against this enemy from the south of Lebanon. Beirut constituted the logistical capital of these joint national Palestinian struggles in Lebanon. In the context of this overall process, major achievements were realized and many mistakes occurred. After 1982, the status of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon became different in kind. The Palestinian camps were subjected to periodic massacres at the hand of the Israeli occupation and Israeli air raids and strikes which have not stopped since 1982 and at the hand of the Lebanese fascist forces, as was the case in Sabra and Shatila in September 1982, and they have been subject to repeated aggressive actions at the hands of currents and forces in the AMAL movement, as was the case in the Ramadan 1985 war and as is the case now. This is the unending war which is known by the name of the war of the camps.

This whole situation has prompted the people of the Palestinian camps to insist on the right of self-defense in the face of the multifaceted attempts at usurpation and dispossession which are going on.

In this field, we have called since the beginning for the unity of the people of the camps in mutual defense on the ground, whatever the political differences among the forces of the resistance might be, because what has been placed on the agenda of the people of the camps now is preservation of identity and protection of the human right of survival and the right of the camps to protect themselves from all attempts to dispossess and usurp them. We support all solutions which will make it possible to rectify relations again between the camps and their neighbors, between the people of the camps and the Lebanese national forces, so that the common struggle may resume its course, as it proceeded for 15 years, against the Zionist Israeli enemy, which is still occupying the border strip in south Lebanon, to evict it from the south without condition or restriction, especially the condition of security arrangements which the Zionist enemy insists on. We have clearly announced that their weapon of self-defense will remain in the hands of the people of the camps as long as the jungle of weapons is unsheathed against them, no matter what their nature might be. We have declared that at the moment the Lebanese national forces arrive at an intra-Lebanese national reconciliation which they find satisfactory, the security of the camps will then be guaranteed in the context of general national security, because the national forces will be in the center of official Lebanese decisionmaking, in a manner which will offer guarantees for the protection of the Palestinian camps from aggression. At that time, the justification for arms for the people of the camps will disappear and they will no longer have a role with respect to defense of the camps, because their security will then be guaranteed in the context of general national security, and the right of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon to continue its armed and political struggle in the direction of the Israeli enemy, which is occupying Palestinian territory and depriving these people of their right to return to their territory and get rid of the refugee camps, will remain.

AL-HAWADITH: In your speech on the day of the anniversary of the launching, you stood up to advocate Palestinian cooperation with the Lebanese national forces. I heard you clearly state that the AMAL movement is among these

forces, and in your speech you mentioned the name of Nabih Birri by name and called for cooperation with him. What has happened? Why is the fighting being periodically repeated?

Nayif Hawatimah: This is true, and we are still holding to our position. We have called on and are calling on all Lebanese national forces, including the AMAL movement, to work and cooperate jointly against the enemy, which is still occupying the border strip in the south of Lebanon, and against Lahad's army. We have indeed entered into a dialogue with our brother Nabih Birri and the other leaders of AMAL from a position of constant insistence on common action against the common enemy and a return to the spirit of reconciliation and fraternity between the camps and their surroundings, instead of the spirit of tension and war.

We met with a broad response in dialogue with our brother Nabih Birri and a substantial number of the AMAL commanders, but we observe that AMAL is not a unified party; rather, it is a grouping which expresses numerous tendencies within its ranks, and on top of that there are personnel and pockets which seem to have political extensions outside the AMAL movement. It is these which are regularly working to sabotage the relations of conciliation between the camps and their surroundings and seize every occasion to pour fire from artillery, machine guns and all types of weapons upon the camps and keep the flames of the war of the camps burning. It is not reasonable and logical even for a moment that surrounded camps inside Beirut could start firing a single shot, as these circles allege in justifying their operations against the camps.

It is not just us who are saying this. Indeed, many people in AMAL also say that there have been violations within AMAL. More than one of these brothers in Syria and the Syrian media have pointed out more than once that there have been violations in AMAL aimed at expanding and inflaming the struggle and pouring oil on the fire, to inflame the fighting around these camps.

We observe that all Lebanese national forces without exception, Islamic spiritual figures and prominent national and Islamic political figures have condemned every attempt to resume the war in the camps and have stood throughout the past 10 days we have been living through against this war. Indeed, the Islamic spiritual figures have issued rulings in which they have stressed the prohibition against this war against the camps in terms of Islamic law. It is very sad that all this has been going on among comrades in arms who fought together for 15 years against the common enemy, while the Palestinian people shed their own blood in rivers in defense of the Lebanese national forces against the internal fascist forces which wanted to oppress the people of Lebanon in accordance with their own fascist views and cooperated with the Israeli enemy.

Once again, we say that this bloody war has no national dimensions, indeed serves only Israel, American hegemony and the internal fascist forces. No Palestinian child, or indeed any nationalist Lebanese child in the street, will accept any other claims any longer.

AL-HAWADITH: It is said that Katyusha rockets are being launched from Lebanese territory and that Israel is sending its planes to take revenge against the Lebanese people.

Nayif Hawatimah: It is clear that the Katyusha rockets which fall on Galilee in Palestinian territory are not Palestinian-made. It has been repeatedly declared that the AMAL and Hizballah movements and other Lebanese groups are the ones that are firing them, and absolutely no indication has been voiced that the Katyushas are being fired by Palestinian groups. The Zionist enemy is not waiting for tactical justifications on which it can rely to make strikes at Lebanese and non-Lebanese villages and areas. I will give you a blatant example of that: in July 1981, agreement was reached through the representative of the international emergency forces in the south of Lebanon between the emergency forces and the Liberation Organization for a cease fire and the refusal to use the south of Lebanon in military guerrilla operations against the occupation, especially with artillery and rockets. Indeed, complete adherence to this was realized by all the forces of the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese national forces from that date to the eve of the comprehensive invasion of Lebanon in June 1982.

This all has provoked the amazement of the world, which has rejected the Israeli enemy's allegations, because the borders of northern Palestine were quiet for a whole year. When the Israeli enemy tried to use the operation which led to the wounding of the Israeli ambassador in London as a tactical means to justify its invasion, Thatcher herself, who is not a friend of the Palestinian people, took the initiative of declaring that the organization had no connection with this operation. Nonetheless, a comprehensive invasion took place with the result that it later became clear that the comprehensive invasion operation had been prepared more than 6 months before it started. The Israeli press stated at that time, specifically in February 1982, that Sharon, in agreement with Begin, was preparing for a broad, comprehensive military operation in Lebanon. It also became clear that this operation was cooked up in Israel then in Washington at a joint meeting between Sharon and Alexander Haig, the secretary of state at that time, a few months before it began, specifically in February. All these have now become well known facts which not Palestinian writers but rather American and Israeli writers have written, and they have become well known.

I would like to say that this claim that the Katyusha rockets which are falling on the Galilee settlements are the justification for the Israeli raids is a false one -- indeed, it is acceptance of the Zionist thinking itself. In 1956 Israel did not invade Sinai in coordination with the tripartite aggression due to missiles fired from Egyptian territory at the Negev. This justification did not exist in 1967, and it was not present in the comprehensive invasion of Lebanon in 1982. This claim is a total acceptance of the Zionist thinking which wants quiet, secure borders around itself so that it will be fully free for its plans of occupation and settlement in Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and Golan and for its expansionist plans in the Arab countries.

Zionist thinking wants to turn neighboring Arab rifles into its own border guard rifles.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

AL-SIYAYLI INTERVIEWED ON AMNESTY FOR 13 JAN CONSPIRATORS

EA112120 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 11 Jul 86

[Text] Brother Brigadier Salih Munassar al-Siyayli, member of the Political Bureau, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of interior, has confirmed that the guarantees offered to misled fugitives under the general amnesty decree consist of their political and social rights, including the right to work, security and stability and freedom from prosecution for mistakes committed by misled fugitives on 13 January, and the return of their housing, property and any other personal property, together with their right to lead their lives in a normal manner.

In an interview with 14 UKTURAR newspaper, Al-Siyayli said the humanitarian aspect of the general amnesty decree gives our brothers who have been released inside the country, the returnees from abroad and the misled fugitives among them, the opportunity of benefitting from the decree and correcting their mistakes, returning to their jobs, showing a positive attitude towards work and respecting the laws and regulations in force in the country.

In this connection, he called on the party's basic organizations, mass organizations and officials at work places and production to make greater efforts to help the misled people and those returning to their jobs to correct their mistakes and remind them of the past so that they can make greater efforts at work and reeducate themselves.

Brother Al-Siyayli renewed the call to the brother misled fugitives, saying that the party and the homeland open their arms to their sons who have found themselves at a certain stage in political exile far from their families and relatives. He rejected the biased rumors being disseminated by circles hostile to our regime and party.

He said all the rumors that had been spread about an alleged dialogue with the conspirator, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, are incorrect, adding that the cooperation of the hostile mass media with the conspirator, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, exposed the extent of the link between him and these media and the countries they belong to.

He added: Our visit to the northern part of the homeland was for the purpose of holding a dialogue with our brothers in the northern part with the aim of developing relations between the two parts. He also touched on the importance of holding dialogue with the brothers in the northern part of the homeland concerning the return of the fugitives and the arrangements that have been made to proceed with the trial of the leading elements that planned and implemented the bloody conspiracy of 13 January.

/6662

CSO: 4400/221

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

PDRY-USSR MEDIA AGREEMENTS--Brother Muhammad Husayn Muhammad, secretary general of the Organization of Democratic Yemeni Journalists and chief editor of AL-RABI ASHAR MIN UKTUBAR newspaper, has signed an agreement in Moscow for cooperation between his organization and the Union of Soviet Journalists for the years 1986-90. The agreement is directed at continuing creative cooperation between journalists of the two countries, developing relations between them, exchanging views between the organization and the union on common positions in international fora, and providing various forms of political and moral support and assistance. It was signed on behalf of the Soviet side by Comrade Losev, the union's secretary of foreign relations. In addition, an agreement has also been signed in Moscow for cooperation between the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY and AL-RABI ASHAR MIN UKTUBAR newspaper. It was signed on behalf of the Yemeni side by Brother Muhammad Husayn Muhammad and by Comrade (Karen Khachaturov), vice-chairman of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY. Brother Muhammad Husayn Muhammad paid a 10-day visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY. [Text] [Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 11 Jul 86 EA] /6662

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES PROTOCOL--A protocol for bilateral cooperation for 1986-1990 was signed in Moscow yesterday morning between the General Department for Consumer Cooperatives in the PDRY Ministry of Industry, Trade and Supply and the USSR Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives. The protocol was signed on behalf of our country by Brother Muhammad 'Ali Qasin, director general of the General Department of Consumer Cooperatives, and for the Soviet side by Comrade (Vlachenko), vice president of the USSR Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives. [Text] [Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 10 Jul 86 EA] /6662

CSO: 4400/221

AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN LEADER GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE

PM270921 Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Jun 86 p 3

["C.L." report: "No Yalta on Afghanistan"]

[Text] "We will not allow a second Yalta on Afghanistan. I said that to President Reagan. We will not allow anybody to guarantee a solution which does not respect our people's interests," Prof Burhanuddin Rabbani, spokesman of the "Alliance of Afghan Mujahidin," said at a press conference in Paris yesterday.

At the end of a brief visit to Paris, where he was received by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond, Prof Rabbani expressed the resistance's reservations about the negotiations between Pakistan and Afghanistan being held regularly in Geneva under UN auspices.

"Admiration for French Doctors"

The spokesman for the alliance (loose grouping of seven resistance parties) was also anxious to stress that the Afghan resistance wants to be independent and "could not shelter behind American power," because it does not want its country to become a field for rivalry between the two superpowers.

Prof Rabbani, who is also chairman of Jami'at-e Eslami, one of the main resistance parties, has tried to secure official recognition of the resistance from the states he has visited during this tour of the West. "Everybody," he predicted, "will accept the political and diplomatic existence of the Afghan resistance, just as people eventually accepted its military existence."

Are you planning to form a government in exile? One journalist asked him. "We are not at present capable of ensuring the air defense of our bases," Mr Rabbani replied. When we can do that, we will form our government inside the country, not in exile."

Discussing President Mitterrand's forthcoming visit to Moscow, the Mujahidin alliance spokesman said in reply to a question that "Europe cannot have peace and detente with the Soviets while the Afghan conflict continues."

In conclusion, Prof Rabbani expressed his "admiration" for the French doctors working secretly in Afghanistan. After several difficult months they will be able to return and care for the Mujahidin and their families.
[sentence as published]

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

VOCATIONAL PROTOCOL SIGNED--According to a protocol signed in Moscow, Soviet vocational trade unions will also extend necessary aid to the trade unions of the DRA toward realizing the tasks that have been put before these unions by the FDPA. This protocol was signed by the [name indistinct], chairman of the Central Council of Soviet vocational trade unions, and Abdol Satar Prodeli, chairman of the Central Council of Afghan trade unions. The USSR Central Council of vocational trade unions in the course of talks approved that the Soviet vocational trade unions will continue supporting the efforts of Democratic Afghanistan and its trade union toward defending the self-determination and the gains of the April Revolution. The principal (?aspects) of the normalization of the political situation around Afghanistan (?should) be the complete cessation and guarantee of the non-resumption of armed interference and other interferences by the reactionary and imperialist countries in the internal affairs of the DRA. The representatives of the Central Council of the Afghan trade unions expressed complete support for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which is directed toward the complete improvement of international situation. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 27 Jun 86 LD] /6662

CSO: 4665/58

BANGLADESH

DHAKA GRANTS MONTH-LONG AMNESTY TO HILLS PEOPLE

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 25 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Government has again declared a month-long general amnesty from today for the remaining misled people of Chittagong Hill Tracts to facilitate their return to normal life, it was announced here last night, reports BSS.

The general amnesty will be in force from May 25 to June 25, the announcement said.

The government has noticed that many of the misled people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were eager to return to normal life after being impressed by the honourable rehabilitation of large number of those who had already returned and the extensive development activities of the hill areas.

The government has expressed the hope that the remaining misled people would respond to the declaration of general amnesty and take advantage of it for successful implementation of the huge development programme taken for hilly areas.

100 SHANTIBAHINI SUSPECTS HELD

Our Chittagong Bureau adds: Law enforcement agencies have launched a manhunt to capture Shantibahini intruders in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Over one hundred suspects were taken into custody for interrogation in the past week.

One-third of the held suspects have reportedly confessed to having direct link with the miscreants while the rest were found innocent and were released immediately.

A law enforcing agency source said, the mopping up operation had been handled with required vigilance so that innocent people did not face any trouble. The source further said any tribesman captured with a firearm was charged and handled as a miscreant while others were held as normal suspects. So far a negligible number of tribals have been arrested with fire arms.

The tribal miscreants who had been operating from Indian territory infiltrated Chittagong Hill Tracts recently, set up some hideouts and have been launching guerrilla activity against Bangalee settler. So far according to official estimate 56 Bangalees were killed many injured and a number of houses were set ablaze in certain villages under Khagra-chari district.

Following the BDR-BSF flag meeting on May, 18, Bangladesh side believe that Indian Security Forces would cease giving assistance to the miscreants who took asylum there instead of surrendering to Bangladesh forces under a general amnesty.

Meanwhile the law enforcing agencies claimed to have stopped up security measures and urged the Bangalee settlers not to leave their settlements in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

On the other hand steps have already been taken to bring back the general tribal people who had crossed into other side of the border following the Shantibahini raids and subsequent retaliation by the Bangalee settlers.

/13104
CSO: 5650/0206

INDIA

PAPER GIVES DETAILS ON CABINET CHANGES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Jun 86 p 1

[Text] The Prime Minister today made certain changes in the portfolios held by members of his ministerial council, indicating that a further Cabinet reshuffle is in the offing. Mrs Mohsina Kidwai has been appointed Transport Minister. She replaces Mr Bansilal, who has become the Chief Minister of Haryana.

Mrs Kidwai's portfolios of Health and Family Welfare have been given to Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister for Human Resource Development. Mr Rao has been given additional charge of Health and Family Welfare.

To carry on the work of two Ministers, Mr Arun Nehru and Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh, who are convalescing, the Prime Minister has detailed the services of Mr P. Chidambaram and Mr N. D. Tiwari.

Mr Chidambaram, Minister of State in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pension, will also be the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs in addition to his own duties till Mr Arun Nehru resumes his duties effectively, a Rashtrapati Bhavan communique said.

Mr Tiwari, Minister for Industry, will temporarily look after the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas till Mr Chandra Sekhar Singh, Minister of State (independent charge) of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas, resumes his duties effectively.

The announcement said that Mrs Sushila Rohatgi, Minister of State in the Department of Power, will also be the Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas.

It is obvious that Mr Gandhi is not inducting Mr Bhajan Lal, former Haryana Chief Minister, in the Cabinet. Soon after he relinquished that office, Mr Bhajan Lal was offered the post of Minister of State for Food and Supplies. But on the morning of his being sworn-in, he was taken ill with a chest pain, and could not take the oath of office. Mr Bhajan Lal has now recovered from his ailment.

INDIA

GENERAL SAYS NORTHEAST INSURGENCY AT LOW EBB

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Jun 86 p 7

[Text] Insurgency in the North Eastern States has come down to a "very low ebb" from its peak several years ago, according to Lt. Gen. J. K. Puri, GOC-in-C, Eastern Command.

Speaking at an informal "meet the press" programme here, Lt. Gen. Puri said security forces had brought the insurgency "under reasonable control" in the last 30 years, particularly in Nagaland.

This, he said, was largely because the elements in the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), which had created insurgency in the territory, had taken refuge across the border in Burma where they were hiding for the last few years. At times, they raided banks and other institutions for collecting money and weapons. Lt. Gen. Puri said, adding that although the security forces were present in the borders, it was not possible to guard every inch of the territory.

Burmese campaign: He expressed satisfaction that the Burmese Army had responded to their suggestion to flush the insurgents out of their "safe haven" across the border. The Burmese Army carried out a series of operations against the insurgents very recently and they achieved "a fair amount of success" in this regard. "We are also having constant liaison with the Burmese and exchanging information about their movements," he said.

As regards "meti" insurgents in Manipur, Lt. Gen. Puri said they tried to infiltrate into Manipur to revive insurgency but they had been kept under check. In Mizoram also, insurgency was more or less under control because of the talks for a peace accord between the M.N.F. and the Centre.

"We hope this accord will be signed in the near future. If this happens, most of the under-

ground elements will come out and join the mainstream although there may be a few disgruntled elements in the Chittagong hill tract of Bangladesh," he added.

In Tripura, he said, the army had been given the charge of the border areas between Tripura and the Chittagong hill tract in Bangladesh. Otherwise, the insurgents by the TNV groups were being countered by the BSF and the CRPF.

He said the number of Naga insurgents had increased from 200 to 1600 or 1700 either due to infiltration by non-Nagas for the sake of adventure or by Nagas themselves because of frustration. Naga insurgents were getting arms from China while the TNV extremists were receiving Pakistani arms through another neighbouring country.

Lt. Gen. Puri pointed out that the arms which were finding their way to Punjab through Pakistan were of foreign origin. He added that "those interested in creating such a situation in India, are taking precautions not to mark the arms when smuggled into this country".

Army to buy land: Lt. Gen. Puri said the army authorities here proposed to purchase vast tracts of land for using them as firing range and their training ground.

He said peace-time training of officers and the rank and file with sophisticated weaponry like tanks, heavy calibre guns and missiles and mortars required firing ranges with big areas away from civilian localities.

But due to political pressure, he said, the State Governments were not offering land to carry out field exercises. In the past, the areas used to be notified for a year or two and then renewed. —PTI.

/13104
CSO: 5650/0194

INDIA

PAKISTAN SUPPORT OF CANADA-BASED SIKHS PROTESTED

Coincides With Siachen Discussions

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Jun 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 13.

India has taken a serious view of the latest attack on its diplomats by Canada-based Sikhs in Pakistan and the attitude of the local authorities there.

Today the Foreign Secretary, Mr. A. P. Venkateswaran, called the Pakistan Ambassador, Mr. Hamayun Khan, and conveyed to him India's "deep concern" in the strongest terms, as a Foreign Office spokesman put it. Mr. Khan promised to get the details from his Government. Mr. Venkateswaran's talks with Mr. Khan followed a strong protest lodged by the Indian Ambassador in Pakistan, Mr. S. K. Singh, with the External Affairs Ministry in Islamabad. A similar incident last year introduced fresh strains in the bilateral relationship which took considerable effort to be removed.

Siachen talks: The incident coincided with the conclusion of a round of discussion on the Siachen glacier between the Defence Secretaries of the two countries. Mr. S. K. Bhatnagar of India and Mr. Syed Ijal Haider Zaidi of Pakistan—the second in the series since January last. According to a joint statement issued today they considered "various ideas" for an amicable settlement of the problem (caused by intermittent clashes between the security forces of the two sides) and will report to their governments. Pakistan invited Mr. Bhatnagar for the third round of discussion in Islamabad, but no date was fixed. At their January meeting the two Defence Secretaries had stated their respective positions.

The joint statement issued after two days of intensive discussions reiterated their resolve to settle the issue in accordance with the Simla agreement. The Indian side, it appeared, drew the attention of the Pakistani delegation to various cases of unprovoked firing and violation of airspace by Pakistani personnel.

The Lahore incident and the unproductive discussions on the Siachen glacier together represent a downturn in the bilateral relations at a time when the schedule for the confidence-building measures drawn up by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, in December last year had run into trouble.

There are no illusions on either side about the difficulties in the way of a settlement on the Siachen glacier, but the attack on the diplomats, it is felt, cannot but leave deep scars.

Ominous dimension: Yesterday, four Indian diplomats, who were on liaison duty at gurdwara Dera Sahib in Lahore to receive 1,000 Sikh pilgrims from India on the occasion of the Martyrdom Day of Guru Arjun Dev, were assaulted by six Canadian Sikhs. This is the third incident of its type in the last two years but there is a new ominous dimension as the assailants were the same group as was involved in a similar attack on Indian diplomats last year. Though arrested, they were released on bail and were staying inside the gurdwara. As on the previous occasions, Pakistani officials present there remained passive spectators and even prevented the Indian pilgrims who sought to rescue the diplomats.

New Delhi is intrigued that Pakistani authorities allowed the six Canadian Sikhs to be present in the gurdwara during the visit of the Indian pilgrims and diplomats. How is it that Pakistani officials did not foresee a replay of last year's incident especially when they were being "proceeded against" for their earlier role?

Protection was sought: Two weeks ago, Mr. Singh, in a letter to the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Abdul Sattar, sought adequate protection for the embassy personnel to be posted on liaison duty at the gurdwara. He feared trouble in view of past experience. Mr. Singh even referred to his fears in his talks with Gen. Zia on Tuesday when he called on the Pakistan President to deliver a letter from Mr. Gandhi.

In his letter to Mr. Sattar, Mr. Singh drew attention to the unhappy incidents during the visits of pilgrims in the past and sought his personal assistance to ensure there were no incidents that might cause misunderstanding or affect the normalisation process. In particular, Mr. Singh suggested steps to strengthen administrative and security measures to ensure that the visits of pilgrims passed off peacefully. Apart from the group that went to Pakistan yesterday, another jatha is to go there on the occasion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death anniversary later this month. At the moment, this visit stands.

Ambassador's Protest Note

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 15 Jun 86 p 8

[Text of note written by S. K. Singh, India's ambassador in Islamabad to Tanveer Ahmed Khan, Pakistan acting foreign secretary]

[Text]

You will recall my conversation with his excellency the President of Pakistan, General Mohammad Zia-ul Haq, on June 10, 1986 when you too were present. This was concerning, inter alia, the activities of third country nationals, Sikh terrorists, who have been visiting Pakistan all along. Amongst these there are eight Canadian Sikh terrorists, who had indulged in violence against two of our diplomats in November, 1985 during one of these pilgrimages. This incident had caused a certain amount of problem in respect of our bilateral relations.

These eight Canadian Sikhs are still in Pakistan, on bail, and are residing, presumably with the permission of the local administration inside Dera Saheb gurdwara in Lahore.

This morning when our diplomats Mr B. Jain, counsellor, Mr R.N. Nair, first secretary, Mr R.R. Dash, HOC (head of chancery) and Mr Suresh Pandey, welfare officer, were with the Indian Sikh members of the Indian pilgrim jatha, discharging their normal duty as liaison officers, they were assaulted by the same eight Canadian Sikhs. The Indian diplomats/liaison officers had gone to the Dera Saheb gurdwara with the full knowledge and concurrence of the Pakistan authorities and under international law and practice their safety is the responsibility of this government. I point this out with the greatest regret that in the presence of the local police and intelligence officials as also the *auqaf* people these eight Canadian Sikhs went berserk and violent, hurting our diplomats, and not a finger was raised by the local law and order officials to assist or safeguard them. It is a sad commentary on the understanding of their responsibility by the local law

and order authorities, that when a number of Indian Sikh pilgrims tried to prevent further aggravation, and to save the Indian diplomats, the police authorities prevented these Indian Sikhs.

I would like to protest this morning's incident in the strongest possible terms and would suggest that the government of Pakistan condemn such activities in which third country Sikhs are indulging on the soil of Pakistan more or less as a matter of rule in the strongest possible terms. Also that full protection be provided to the Indian diplomats/liaison officers and the members of the Indian Sikh jathas.

Normally in any friendly country it would be our expectation that the bail of these eight Canadian Sikhs be cancelled immediately. Obviously, bail is always granted on condition of good behaviour. These eight Canadian Sikh terrorists have obviously had local support and goodwill of all types. So much so that they have been permitted to use a large area inside the Dera Saheb gurdwara as a museum in the memory of terrorists, and assassins of the late Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi. They have also been using the Dera Saheb gurdwara for purposes of inciting insurrection and terrorism inside India, and obviously planning violence against our diplomats, and pilgrims coming from India.

I enclose a copy of a letter I had addressed to Mr Sattar, on May 29, 1986, as I was already then nervous that unhappy and irresponsible attitude of some of the local authorities may lead to such incidents which do not but affect our bilateral relations adversely. I must state with great respect that obviously the anxieties I had expressed in my letter of May 29, were not heeded seriously.

IRAN

TEHRAN RADIO COMMENTS ON 1 AUGUST INTERIM ELECTIONS

GF010728 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 1 Jul 86

[Commentary by the Central News Unit research group: "Interim Elections in 10 Constituencies of the Country"]

[Text] On Friday, the 10th of Mordad [1 August], exactly 1 month from today, the Islamic Majlis interim elections will be held in 10 constituencies of the country. In a communique issued in this regard, the Interior Ministry announced that all candidates to be represented in the Islamic Majlis from the constituencies of Tehran, Karaj, Bojnurd, Torbat-e Heydarieh, Damghan, Ton-e Kabon, Malawi, Mahshahr, Ramhormoz, Khorramshahr, and Shadegan have 7 days to register from today, that is, Tuesday 10 Tir [1 July] during office hours until 16 Tir [7 July], that is, Monday.

The philosophy behind the convening of interim polls is to complete the quorum as specified by the constitution, that is, their number must be 270. During the 4 years of the tenure of the Islamic Majlis, certain members have been unable to discharge their responsibilities as deputies for various reasons, or due to unanticipated factors such as resignations or death. So in order to ensure that there is no interruption in the lawmaking process, and the country is never without an Islamic Majlis for the implementation of the constitution or that the liaison between the people and the esteemed Majlis officials which continues to be strengthened by their presence is not disrupted, the interim elections were scheduled. Of course, the Muslim people of our country have been participating in elections on many occasions ever since the first round of the Islamic Majlis and the Council of Experts, and are aware of its need and importance.

The 1 August elections will be the third interim elections, of the second term of the Islamic Majlis in the country. In 1984, mid-term elections were held in 12 cities including Esfahan and Shiraz, in which the people elected 19 representatives to the Islamic Majlis. Similarly, on 14 September 1984, interim polls were held in four constituencies, where elections had been previously (?annulled) by the Council of Guardians. In these elections, the people of Fasa, Moghan, Zarqan, and the compatriots of the Armenian minority of the south elected four of their representatives from the Esfahan constituency. On this basis, the 1 August elections of the current year, that is, exactly 1 month from now, which will be held in

10 cities of the country and for which registration of candidates begins today, will in fact be the third interim elections of the second term of the Islamic Majlis in the country.

The upcoming mid-term elections have one fundamental difference from the two previous interim elections. In the two earlier elections, the people of some cities participated in interim elections, and the (?convening) of these elections had been done by the Council of Guardians. However, in the upcoming mid-term elections, the Muslim people of 8 of the 10 constituencies announced will go to the polls to elect representatives in place of those dear ones who were martyred in the criminal attack by the Afalqi Iraqi regime on the civilian airliner of the Asseman company on its Tehran-Ahvaz route. This makes the obligation and burden of responsibility weigh much heavier on the shoulders of the people. They will have to choose people who are as dedicated as those great martyrs who did not spare any effort in serving the people and resolving the problems of the country until the moment of martyrdom.

What is of extreme significance at the moment on the occasion of the registration of candidates is that an ideal representative should have certain qualifications and qualities. For example, he should know about the jurisdiction and influence of the Majlis; he should be well versed in judicial issues and be law-abiding. He should also be aware of the political and economic atmosphere of the country, because according to the rules of the constitution, the Majlis deputies and the Islamic Majlis have various obligations, such as the formulation of laws in all fields of government and the supervision of the current affairs of the country.

Hence, as far as the future of the country is concerned, it is directly linked to the quality of the representatives of the Islamic Majlis. Every individual Muslim of our country and the people of the constituencies which will participate in the 1 August elections in particular are responsible for forging their own destinies by their own actions.

The revered Imam, in his exhortations about the Majlis and the deputies, stressed that the Majlis should be comprised of knowledgeable individuals, scholars, and specialists in every field. The Imam's utterances underline the importance of the Islamic Majlis and the fact that the deputies must possess special qualifications in their fields and should be sincere in their dedication to the Islamic aspirations of the Muslim people of Iran. They should be able to formulate strong, effective, and realistic laws in the special Majlis commissions. It is easy to gauge the extent of responsibility the candidates will have to shoulder. Those individuals who have such characteristics and qualities should introduce themselves to the people and take measures to register themselves, or if they observe such traits in other persons they should motivate them to introduce themselves to society.

On the other hand, the fact that only 10 persons are to be elected by the people who cast ballots in 10 constituencies does not imply that these

polls are unimportant. At times, the vote of even one person can be instrumental in the approval or rejection of a law, hence the votes of 10 persons are of extreme consequence. In 8 of the 10 constituencies, the Muslim people will have to bear in mind that such persons must be chosen who will be effective substitutes for the great martyrs of the tragedy of the Asseman company airliner, so that they may be able to fill the void created.

/12858

CSO: 4640/399

IRAN

FOREIGN MINISTER VELAYATI CONFIRMS EARLY MOSCOW TRIP

PM231100 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian 19 Jun 86 p 4

[Interview with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati by Igor Man in Tehran; date not given]

[Excerpts] Tehran--Is it true that you are to visit Moscow soon? Yes. I have been invited and am going gladly." This was the start of my interview with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. (Later one of his close aides told me that "since we decapitated the Tudeh Party our relations with the USSR have become reasonable.")

[Man] It is 6 years since the Iraqi attack: Is it really possible that there is no way of reaching an honorable peace settlement? When will this appalling war end?

[Velayati] The war was forced on us; we are fighting in defense of our sacrosanct right to live within security--as a nation, as a people, and as a community of believers. We will never lower our guard, but even this war will end, as the war against Hitler ended the day the Nazi aggressor was at last eliminated, destroyed.

[Man] Following your meetings with Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal hopes of peace emerged, though unfortunately they soon disappeared. What has remained of those meetings, which were described as historic?

[Velayati] Saudi Arabia is a country close to us both geographically and historically. Moreover, we share something extremely important--religion, the holy Al-Ka'bah venerated at Mecca. Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal's visit to Tehran and my visit (at his invitation) to Riyadh had a very positive result, if only because they aimed to create an atmosphere of greater mutual understanding. God willing, this cannot fail to yield good results.

[Man] Too many ominous signs lead us to fear that we may be on the eve of an Israeli attack on Syria, even though on the very day of 'Id al-Fitr (the end of Ramadan) Reagan sent Al-Asad a pleasant message. One has the impression that the United States is trying to win back Damascus in order to accentuate your isolation.

[Velayati] In my opinion Reagan's message to Al-Asad and the matter's reply are merely routine. I respect your diagnosis but I do not overestimate the event. An Israeli attack on the Syrians? It is rather likely. Syria is Israel's most resolute enemy and in the front line of the steadfastness front. As far as we know, the Syrians should not allow themselves to be taken by surprise. They are ready to resist and determined to repel the not unlikely attack.

[Man] Minister, I arrived in Iran on the day devoted to Jerusalem. Mingling with the crowds I noticed your people's fierce hatred of Israel. Will the hatred of Israel not result in hatred of the Jews and lead to anti-Semitism?

[Velayati] It is true, our people do hate Israel, and this is because it occupies Islamic territory, because it has forced the diaspora of millions of Palestinians. Even before the victory of the revolution our people dreamed of the liberation of Jerusalem. The liberation of the Holy City guides our foreign policy strategy and remains the Iranian people's loftiest aspiration. But the hatred of Israel will not fall on the Israelis. The Jewish minority has always coexisted peacefully with us. Our constitution grants freedom of religion to Jews, as it does to Christians and Zoroastrians. The Jews have their own representatives in the Iranian parliament. We consider Israel the evil result of a political clique called Zionism. As far as we are concerned, the same difference exists between Zionism and Judaism as exists between fascism and Christianity, so the hatred for Israel cannot affect the Jews.

[Man] Many people in Iran condemned the pope's visit to the Rome synagogue. May I have your opinion?

[Velayati] The visit by the head of the Christian Church to the Jewish temple in Rome is a normal religious event, probably aimed at the rapprochement of two religions with shared roots. That visit cannot be considered a legitimization of Zionism, of the occupation of the land of Palestine.

[Man] On 10 November 1979 Imam Khomeyni said in an interview: "We will export our Islamic revolution throughout the world.... We will be wherever it is necessary to fight alongside the oppressed in the name of God, for the triumph of Islam." Are you still determined to export your revolution?

[Velayati] The Imam's words are a commandment. But note that exporting must be understood in the cultural, not military sense. We have no territorial ambitions. Throughout these years the values of our Islamic revolution have been transferred to other countries, which has led to the redemption of the Muslims, of the oppressed.

[Man] The "Trevi Group" included Iran among the "high risk countries," that is, the countries supposed to be organizing international terrorism. Why did you not respond to such a serious charge?

[Velayati] It is not worth answering a false and grotesque accusation such as that levelled at us at U.S. instigation by the European interior ministers. The Trevi declaration is on a par with the Tokyo declaration. We consider it a provocation and a form of blackmail: They want to put us under pressure in the hope that we will react rashly. But we condemn--and this is nothing new--blind terrorism which spreads suffering by hitting innocents. We also know that not all European countries agree with the Trevi declaration, at least as far as it affects us. Terrorism..., what, then, should we say about the United States, which bombards Tripoli and exercises the blackmail of violence from the Persian Gulf to Nicaragua? But state terrorism will not discourage those throughout the world combating U.S. imperialism.

[Man] My final question is an obligatory one: What is your assessment of Iranian-Italian relations?

[Velayati] We are two peoples with ancient civilizations: This should prompt fruitful progress in relations between the Tehran and Italian governments. I was able to meet with Minister Andreotti and would like to meet with him again. If I were to stop over in Rome, I would not fail to take up his invitation for us to meet. In any case we hope for a visit by the Italian foreign minister to Tehran.

/6662

CSO: 4628/4

IRAN

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL ENDS VISIT TO SUDAN

LD252114 Tehran IRNA in English 0758 GMT 25 Jun 86

[Text] Tehran, Jun 25, IRNA--The Foreign Ministry deputy for cultural and consular affairs, Javad Mansuri, said in Khartoum Tuesday afternoon that both Iran and Sudan are interested in further expansion of mutual relations and cooperation. Mansuri was speaking in a press conference prior to his departure from Khartoum at the end of a six-day visit.

He said that due to special interest of both the countries in further deepening the relations under the Islamic ideology, exchange of visits between the officials of the two countries will further strengthen the ties.

Mansuri condemned any plot hatched against integrity of Sudan and weakening of the country's Islamic movement. He urged all forces of the country to unite in reconstructing their homeland.

On Iran's relations with Arab countries, Mansuri said that in establishing such ties Iran places utmost importance to Islam and righteousness. At the present, he added, the Islamic Republic of Iran has friendly relations with many Arab and Islamic countries.

On normalization of Iran's relations with France, Mansuri said that the French Government has become aware of its wrong policies of the past and has announced its readiness to cooperate with Iran in various fields. Once Iran is assured of France's sincerity, he added, it will take steps towards expansion of relations.

Mansuri at the end stressed that Iran and Syria enjoyed solid and strategic relations and added that no political move can hinder the relations.

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CSO: 4600/382

IRAN

MONTAZERI MESSAGE ON NATURE OF HAJJ

NC040924 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 4 Jul 86

["Text" of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri's message to a national Hajj gathering in Tehran on 3 July--read by announcer]

[Text] In the name of God Almighty. God made the Ka'ba, the sacred house, an asylum of security for men. Verily, God Almighty spoke the truth. [Koranic verses] Dear brothers and sisters, pilgrims of the sacred house, ulema and clergymen of the caravans, esteemed doctors and nurses, directors of caravans and assistants, and respected officials of the Hajj, may God be pleased with you.

Greetings! You are on the eve of this religious and spiritual voyage. I deem it necessary to make a few points to those who will be visiting the place of worship. May I be on your minds when you, dear ones, are honored with this pilgrimage, and may I be blessed with a drop of its great sea of blessings.

1. According to the verses of the Holy Koran and the tidings brought by the Messenger of God, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, and the pure imams, may God's peace be upon them all, there is more to this religious duty than its spiritual side and that of worship. It also has important social and political dimensions. If the various aspects and lofty objectives of the pilgrimage are ignored, and if this great Islamic congress, which meets each year on the orders of God Almighty, and summons those of all races and from the various Islamic countries to the house of monotheism is not used to promote the unity and independence of Muslims and to reject domestic and foreign satans, we will certainly not be true pilgrims.

Those who prevent Muslims from gathering and communicating to face the enemies of Islam and to oppose world Zionism, and who think in vain that they are separating religion from politics, know neither religion nor politics. The Ka'ba is the hearth of mankind's insurrection, and by respecting its rules, Muslims find their independence and stand on their own two feet. God made the Ka'ba, the sacred house, an asylum of security for men. [Koranic verse]

During the Hajj, the spirit of lust, with all its passions and selfishness, should end. All pilgrims from all Islamic countries should, with one voice, break all idols and execrate the satans, great and small, domestic and foreign, from the holy sanctities of Islam and the Koran and renounce the colonialists of East and West and the forces of polytheism, atheism, and world Zionism. And an announcement from God and his apostle to the people on the day of the Great Pilgrimage, that God and his Apostle dissolve obligations with the pagans. [Koranic verse] Otherwise, their words and deeds will be faces without brains and empty actions. Naturally, such a pilgrimage could never be a popular insurrection.

The pilgrimage is that which reflects monotheism in the best possible way and the rejection of all forms of polytheism and idolatry. Fortunately, and we thank God almighty, thanks to the victory of the Islamic revolution, effective steps have already been taken to draw nearer to the main objectives of the Hajj, and we hope it will be better and loftier each year. See how the enemies of Islam fear these gatherings and demonstrations, and how they resort to obstructionism with the help of their henchmen and agents.

The respected gentlemen are aware that in general, performance of the divine rites should be coupled with a full understanding and correct recognition of their nature, objectives, and spiritual and social dimensions. This will allow them to become a source of blessings, social and divine, for the people. The goals of such meetings and seminars should be the study of the various aspects and dimensions of the Hajj, and they should familiarize the esteemed pilgrims with them. More than anyone else, ulema and clergymen have a duty on this sacred voyage, and the people's expectations of them will be greater. The people rely on what they have to say and expect things from them. In addition to his duty to spread the word and guide the people, to state what is forbidden and what is not, and to explain the various rites of the pilgrimage, a clergyman should tell the people the religious and spiritual content of this great religious duty, as well as its social and political objectives, which will permit them to grasp its significance, and as the Holy Koran notes, see the benefits provided for them. In the words of the eighth imam, may peace be upon him, there is a blessing in this for all creatures everywhere, for all in the East and West, on land and on sea, and for those who are performing the pilgrimage and those who are not. All Muslims should witness the moral and material benefits of this great duty, and the Hajj should be performed with an awareness of its lofty meaning.

Of course, the colonialists and the enemies of Islam, joined by their domestic henchmen, have long planned to have Muslims remain ignorant of the substance and principles of their rites and ceremonies and to be contented with mere appearances. As a result of this great plot, they have been able to inflict heavy blows on Muslims, their economy, and their political and educational systems. They have kept them dispersed, weak, and dependent. Had the Muslims not suffered from ignorance about the truth of the revelation, their political and economic situation today would

surely be different. The East and the West and the plundering forces of Zionism would not have gained control over the destiny of the Islamic world. It is here that the gravity of the danger, and the extent of the plot by the enemies of Islam and their domestic agents and treacherous clergymen dependent on palaces become clear. However, the sensitivity of the duty facing the great ulemas of religious seminaries, and committed authors and orators who know Islam also becomes clear. Thanks to the victory of Iran's Islamic revolution under the leadership of the Imam of the Umma, the suppression and colonialism of the past have been removed, and the possibility to recognize and study Islamic affairs has been opened up. Therefore, it is up to us to make up for the past and to grasp, seriously and through work, the truth about Islam and its sublime objectives from traditional sources, that is, the Koran, the rites, the Messenger of God, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, and the immaculate imams, may God's peace be upon them, and to place these at the disposal of those from any area and of any race who seek the truth.

2. The dear brothers who will be going on the pilgrimage to the house of God and to the holy shrine of his prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, of the immaculate imams, may God's peace be upon them, and of His holy men, are expected to respond to God's call, to answer yes, and to purify their hearts, while at the same time remaining attentive to their spiritual states and stages of devotion. They should not divert their attention from God or sacrifice their communion with Him for material and satanic motives. They should value those divine moments and not leave God, his requests, and His orders unheeded. It is very regrettable for anyone to succumb to satanic attractions instead of God's love, and to lose divine opportunities to achieve spiritual perfection.

3. The honorable pilgrims, especially the ulema, are expected during the Hajj to behave toward one another and toward all other pilgrims from Islamic countries in accordance with Islamic norms; they should stay away from conflict, not lose their tempers, and be ready at any moment to sacrifice and to forgive; they should behave in such a way that they will earn respect for Islam and for the revolution. They should identify influential and committed people from other Islamic countries as best as they can. They should make their acquaintance and explain the Islamic revolution of Iran, the reasons for its victory and its gains, and neutralize the enemies' evil propaganda. They in turn should become acquainted with the situation in other Islamic countries, with their problems in general and their shortcomings. This itself is grounds enough for communication, unity, and solidarity among all Muslims, this being the biggest secret to victory.

4. All the brothers and sisters who will be performing the pilgrimage are expected to respect the regulations of the Islamic Republic of Iran and to bear in mind that violating the Islamic Republic's law is forbidden and not fitting behavior for respected pilgrims. The respected officials

of the Hajj are expected to satisfy the pilgrims who are the guests of God and pilgrims to the house of God, and to reduce the number of strict and tiresome regulations that might inconvenience the respected pilgrims. Airport authorities are expected to treat the pilgrims with patience and according to Islamic morals, not to give cause for dissatisfaction during their trip, and not to treat all the pilgrims harshly when regulations are violated by a few. The government and the authorities more than any other sector, should be forgiving, especially where guests of God are concerned. We thank the respected pilots of the Islamic Republic and crew and workers for their outstanding services; we expect them to respect the pilgrims and to realize that serving the pilgrims is one of the best ways to worship, and will be highly rewarded by God Almighty.

In conclusion, I pray to God Almighty for everyone's success in carrying out their divine duties and in serving Islam and the Muslims, for the victory of Muslim combatants on all fronts, and for the health and long life of the leader of the revolution.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

/12858

CSO: 4640/398

PAKISTAN

BHUTTO BACKGROUND, ASPIRATIONS PROFILED

Calcutta SUNDAY in English 29 Jun-5 Jul 86 pp 28-33

[Article by Ian Jack]

[Text]

In certain respects Benazir Bhutto is perfectly equipped to hold down a classy, possibly decorative job with a merchant bank or publishing house. When she was a child, her clothes came from Saks, her table manners from an English governess. Her education was absorbed at a variety of convent schools, and later at Radcliffe and Oxford, where she shone socially and obtained modest degrees. She adores English chocolates and biographies of British royalty, and she can never quite manage to finish Henry Kissinger's column in the newspapers. Her conversation, when she is not talking on the subject most central to her life, rattles along easily, free of personal anecdote unhindered by self-consciousness. She is slender, nearly 5ft 7in tall, and approaching her 33rd birthday. She has a fine animated mouth, bold eyes, lustrous hair, skin the colour and clarity of a pale dessert wine. She laughs easily. There is no better kind of person to take a shy author to lunch, or (because she is nobody's fool) to size up the

credit potential of a loan seeker from Lagos.

Instead she may well become the first woman in the world to lead an Islamic nation.

That is a strong statement and dangerously provokes the fate which, over the past seven years, has hung her father and killed her youngest brother. Accidents to Benazir herself can never be ruled out and she has still to prove herself as a political strategist who can harness the great explosions of popular sympathy and support which greeted her when she returned to Pakistan two months ago. President Zia-ul-Haq, the general who deposed her father, is a formidable opponent who has partially legitimised his regime by holding a referendum and setting up a carefully neutered parliament. He will not go because Benazir tells him he should. But history, one senses, is slowly slipping away from him. His old crums in the White House have the lessons of the Shah and Marcos to remember, and experience shows that the Pakistan army can be evicted from power by demonstrations of the popular will. Vastly or cleanly, the 95 million citizens of Pakistan must eventually grab back their mangled birthright, and Benazir, political heir to the only popular leader their country has produced in 40 years, now looks a safe bet to lead them.

She likes to compare herself to Cory Aquino—she has a naïve streak which plucks glib ideas from the Western press—but a closer comparison lies in South America rather than the Philippines. She is to Pakistan what Isabel Peron was to Argentina, the torchbearer of an imperfect and corrupted populism which in the people's imagination grew more perfect and less corrupt the further it receded into the past. For Peronism, read Bhuttoism, an ethereal spirit which, at our last meeting, Benazir distilled for me by using an old *mantra* of the PPP:

Islam is our faith
Democracy is our polity
Socialism is our economy
All power to the people!

She recited the slogan in a large and elegant flat just behind Harrods—her aunt's apartment, where money is in evident supply—but it seemed unwise to point out the irony. Benazir can be fierce with critics who suggest that an elevated lifestyle inevitably comprises proletarian sympathies. As a woman of enormous courage, she has paid her dues to the cause many times over. She has, for a start, spent nearly six out of the past nine years in prison or under house arrest, sometimes ill, sometimes in solitary confinement, sometimes in a cell where the temperature reached 120 degrees Fahrenheit and the fan didn't work. She watched, wretched with impotence, as her father crumbled physically—gum disease, gastritis—in his cell during the 18 months of legal pedantry and dubious evidence which eventually sent him to the scaffold. She has over the past year, attended the almost equally lengthy deliberations by a French court over the death of her 26-year-old brother, Shahnawaz, who was poisoned and died slowly and painfully on the floor of his Cannes flat in July last year. She has continued to tend her mother, Nusrat, in a long struggle against cancer of the lung. During her brief bouts of freedom in Pakistan she has driven thousands of miles to console the families of political activists who have been imprisoned, flogged, or executed. More recently, exiled in London and France, she has fought the self-seeking factionalism which is the bane of every political party on the Indian subcontinent.

No, to complain of the contradiction between her love of Bendick's Bitternails and the hungry masses of Pakistan would, in light of this personal history, seem like

carping. Still, the contradiction exists. Benazir was born to three conditions—wealth, feudalism, politics—and they have made her what she is.

Sindh is the most southern province in Pakistan, with a coast along the Arabian Sea. The British built a port, Karachi, but left the interior largely to its own devices. It was (and to a great extent still is) wild desert and scrub country, centrally divided by the fertile lands which flank the river Indus. Waderas, feudal overlords, ran the place, and among the greatest of these was the Bhutto family, which owned large estates in a district called Larkana. Throughout the late 19th century they treated with the British and grew rich. Their lifestyle, so Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's biographer records, was "traditionally one of idyllic ease; leisured hunting forays across the estates, afternoon siesta, and an abundance of serfs catering to every whim".

Benazir's grandfather, Shahnawaz, founded the political dynasty. As a Muslim leader he opposed the predominantly Hindu Indian Congress Party, then struggling for national independence, and thus found favour with the British. Soon his name jangled with imperial decorations. Pray silence for Khan Bahadur Sir Shahnawaz Khan Gutum Murtaza Khan Bhutto, Knight, Companion of the Indian Empire, Officer of the British Empire, and so forth. Benazir remembers him as a gentle man who held her on his knee, though once she broke her two front teeth in a collision with a corner of his four-poster bed.

Sir Shahnawaz was married twice, the second time to a Hindu girl who converted to Islam. This marriage produced Zulfikar Ali, who also took two wives. The first was forced on him when he was 15, an alliance of property with a cousin 10 years his senior. The marriage did not take, though the couple never divorced. (Today Benazir knows this cousin, Begum Amir, as her stepmother).

Zulfikar went abroad to school at Berkeley and Oxford. During a vacation in Karachi he met his second wife, Nusrat, the daughter of an Iranian trading family settled in Bombay. Both sets of parents opposed the match which bridged not only two cultures but also the fundamental division in Islam; Bhutto, like the majority of Pakistanis, was a Sunni and his wife a Shia. But the marriage worked. The couple had four children and named the first of them Benazir, after a favourite sister of Bhutto's who died in adolescence. The name means "unique".

Benazir was by her own account a shy but well-adjusted child who saw little of her parents. Her father entered politics when she was three in 1956, and quickly rose above the dull ruck of military men and feudal chiefs who then composed the Pakis-

tari body politic. He established an early reputation for brilliance and sophistication and was soon heading his country's delegations to the United Nations. Benazir remembers that he always returned "with very big chocolate boxes and with clothes from Saks Fifth Avenue. The lady at Saks knew all our ages and all our sizes because Papa went to New York every year from 1957 to 1966, when he resigned as foreign minister, so she knew exactly what to get and how big the children would be year after year."

At home, in Karachi, an English governess taught Benazir to sit straight, to pick up her knife with her right hand and her fork with her left, to eat her spinach *all up*, and not to throw her mashed potatoes on the floor. More of old Europe was knocked into her small head at convent schools with names such as St. Jennings', Jesus and Mary Presentation, where Irish nuns taught English literature and backpacked on the Virgin Mary. It was not to offend the Muslim parents who paid the fees. Eventually she was dismissed from the riding convent in the Himalayas, ostensibly in the custom of the Anglican nuns in India, for parents gave her a pet name, Pinky, sometimes they would travel up to see her at weekends, when the whole family would stay in a fine old government residence, and Pinky would be set on a pony's back. They played English parlour games in the evening until the biggest treat of all, their father leaned back in his chair and told them stories.

He was a man who believed in great men and history, and knew that one day he himself would belong to both these categories. Metetrach, Talleyrand, Napoleon, Alexander the Great, Chinky and her sister and two brothers began to see them almost as friends. But it was a piece of fiction that most delighted Benazir. Her father would pretend that he had once crossed foils with Rupert of Hentzau, the evil one in the novels of Anthony Hope. Benazir says, "My father had this appalling scar and I used to love the story of how Papa had a duel with Rupert of Hentzau when he was at Oxford and that's how he got the scar. Of course Papa vanquished Rupert, as indeed Alexander vanquished his opponents and Napoleon vanquished his...before he was sent to Elba."

At the story's end, Bhutto would pull up his shirt to reveal the evidence. Later, during his barnstorming days as Prime Minister, he employed a similar trick. "Look," he would shout, baring his belly to the crowds, "this is the stomach of a working man, not that of an opposition fatty who stuffs himself with sweets." He had great hair.

Meanwhile, the people who passed for the Metetrachs of the Fifties and Sixties began to turn up on the Bhutto lawn. Benazir remembers sighting Hubert Humphrey from an upstairs window, and Pompidou long before he became the French President.

When Kennedy died she was a sleeping ten-year-old in a ministerial saloon car. Her father woke her. "He said, 'Wake up. Do you know what's happened? John F. Kennedy is dead', and I went uh-huh and rolled over. And he said, 'Come on, wake up. Don't you know that Kennedy was the President of the United States and he had liberal thoughts and he was bringing a lot of changes to his country.'"

Six years later Benazir went to the U.S. Her father chose Radcliffe, a broader education than Oxbridge, for which in any case she then lacked the entry qualifications. She was 16 and alone abroad for the first time. "I remember I cried and cried and cried because I had never walked to classes in my life before. I'd always been driven to school in a car and picked up in a car, and here I had to walk and walk and walk. It was cold, bitterly cold, and I hated it. It was tough, but it forced me to grow up."

Even eating proved an ordeal. "There was this huge hall and you had to serve yourself and sit down somewhere next to someone, which meant I had to talk to people, and Americans are very talkative." She recalls the questions and mimics the accent. First question: *Where are you from?* Second question: *Pakistan?* *Where's that?* She learnt, she says, to be "a bit self-assertive." This was fortunate, because in her third year Pakistan abruptly ceased to be a word that registered mere blankness on Radcliffe faces. For a time the name stank; "butchery" was frequently coupled with it; even genocide was mentioned.

Do you remember the Bangladesh war? Didn't Joan Baez sing a song about it? Didn't George Harrison have a concert for it? In Pakistan the impact was more severe. The war proved that the ideological foundations of the country were nonsense, that the Muslims of Indian subcontinent were too divided by geography, race, language, and culture to share the same state. The Pakistan formed by the partition of British India in 1947—an east and a west wing, separated by 1,000 miles of the new Indian Republic—survived for 24 years and then perished horribly. In 1971 the people of East Pakistan revolted against the exploitation and racial arrogance of West Pakistan. The Pakistan army recruited in the west wing, countered with brutal repression. India invaded. Bangladesh was created. Islam, in short, was not enough.

Benazir says that, until the army deposed her father in 1977, this counted as the most difficult year in her life. "As soon as you said you were from Pakistan people would look at you as though they hated you. 'Oh, Pakistan, the country that's committing all these atrocities in Bangladesh.' I couldn't believe it, you know."

"In Pakistan, we grew up—so he and I grew up—with the idea that the army were the noble warriors out to defend the motherland. I couldn't believe that they could rape or loot or raid homes or anything like that. And I would fiercely and passionately defend the Pakistan army and dismiss the charges as Western Zionist propaganda."

She attended a public lecture on the morality of war by a Harvard professor, who provoked her into making her first political speech. "He said the people of Pakistan had denied the people of Bangladesh the right to self-determination. Pakistan was my country; I must have been 15 at the time, but I got up in front of 200 people and said, 'That's completely wrong. Professor, the people of Bangladesh exercised their right to self-determination when they opted for Pakistan in 1971. They must answer, though it doesn't hold much water. People, presumably, have the right to change their minds.'"

Around the same time (December 1971), her father flew to a meeting of the UN Security Council in New York. The Pakistan army was close to defeat, and Bhutto was desperate to negotiate a ceasefire. But India wouldn't play. "Mr Bhutto," observed the *Washington Post*, "turned the Security Council into a living theatre." In his final speech, he roared and screamed. He said that his little boy (the since-poisoned Shahzade) had told him that if he signed a document on surrender he need not bother to come home. Then, tears streaming down his face, he tore up the 17-page paper and strode out of the chamber. Benazir watched. Her father had summoned her from Radcliffe and installed her in an adjoining room at the Pierre Hotel.

"That speech substantially influenced me. Dhaka (then the capital of East Pakistan) was about to fall to the Indian Army, but Papa said realities change. Communist troops were on the gates of Stalinград. Realities change. Hitler thought that the Nazis would rule for 1,000 years. Realities change. It had the most profound effect on me. It has been the same."

Father and daughter walked the streets of New York that night and then returned to the Pierre. Here Benazir received her first lesson in the important political art of dissembling. "I remember the Russian and Chinese ambassadors and the US delegation coming to see him. First told me to keep interrupting him to come into the room and say, 'Sorry, I'm so and so on the line.' Of course, so and so wasn't on the line, but we wanted to give them a little bit of pressure, to say 'Don't think we're alone—there are others interested.' I picked up a lot of things, political things, from my father."

Dhaka fell nonetheless. Bhutto emerged from the wreckage as the Prime Minister of a newly truncated Pakistan: the first Pakistani leader to win power through elections in which every man, woman and child voted.

Benazir Bhutto was the daughter of a noble, a man who had been filled with the spirit of the noble warriors out to defend the motherland. Benazir wore elegant Pakistani dress: *salwar-kameez*, a bright, loose shirt over bright, tight trousers, with a *dupatta*, a chiton scarf, arranged around her shoulders. The Bangladesh war seemed distant history. I asked her if she now accepted that West Pakistan, and particularly the army, had behaved badly.

"Of course. I've seen how the army has behaved in my own country. They have burnt villages down before my eyes. They have sent young men to the gallows. They have ruthlessly imprisoned people and whipped them for nothing more than shouting 'Long live Bhutto.'"

I wondered if she also accepted that the same Bhutto, as West Pakistan's leading politician, had not in some small way contributed to the political stalemate which led to the butchery. This is a piece of humdrum conventional wisdom, but the question was a mistake. Benazir calls her father by different names as the occasion demands. Sometimes 'Papa', sometimes 'Mr Bhutto', sometimes '*shahid*', (the martyr). Always, however, she presents him as a man without flaws. Bhutto the demagogue. Bhutto the vain and petulant. Bhutto the chauvinist who promised that Pakistan would get the nuclear bomb "even if the people have to eat grass"; these Bhuttos do not put in an appearance. Her reply went on for several minutes, a long and detailed rebuttal of the propaganda, as she described it, which Western journalists had been fed by her father's enemies.

So would she admit that her father had any blemishes at all? "No. But I can tell you a lot about the blemishes of his opponents." She smiled. "You see, my father was brilliant—he was the shining star." She sometimes felt tempted, she said, to describe him as a saint, but then she remembered how he had mocked the Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, when she described her own father, Nehru, in those terms. No man, Papa said, was perfect. Every man made mistakes, but Papa had not made many.

After Radcliffe she went to Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, to study politics and economics. In 1976 she got herself elected president of the Oxford union. Her publicity campaign wiped out the chances of other candidates to such an extent that official complaints were lodged. Some of her friends suspect that her whole-hogging approach stemmed from a desire to please her father, who was certainly delighted. Oxford, the previous year, had denied him an honorary degree after some academics raised doubts about his role in the Bangladesh affair.

She enjoyed Oxford. Her vivacity and open spirit helped her make friends, many of them rather proper young people who later joined City banks or stood in by

elections for the Conservative Party. Life then was "endless cups of coffee...trying to stay awake to write my papers...tea parties".

I asked her if, in those carefree days, she had ever danced.

"No."

Never?

"No."

It seemed odd for a beautiful young woman at Oxford not to dance. "I was always conscious of being the Prime Minister's daughter. I used to be petrified of my father finding out and giving me hell. I respected him so much, I was in awe of him so much. I didn't want to fall in his eyes."

But surely her father was a liberal, Westernised person, quite a boy for drinking and dancing himself in his younger days?

"Good Muslim girls don't dance with foreign men."

We were approaching a subject which gives her genuine difficulty. In *Shame*, Salman Rushdie's roman a clef to the recent history of Pakistan, there is a character called The Virgin Ironpants. It may not be a terribly funny joke, but the character is not hard to identify. I wondered if Benazir, an attractive woman of 32 brought up in a liberal household, had ever had what used to be known as a boyfriend.

"Well, I hope not and I don't think Pakistani society would take it kindly if we discussed such a subject. I'm a Muslim woman in a Muslim society and there are certain topics that Muslim women don't discuss."

Fair enough; but marriage, then, did that idea attract her?

"At the moment all other aspects of my life take second position to my political commitment and cause. That's understood in my whole family. Even for family occasions we must be excused if there is a prior political commitment. In fact I've forgotten how to function at social occasions because Pakistani politics have reached a point where they completely consume me."

This is probably the truth. Over the past nine years she has had little time for friends, men or women. As she says, she knew "how to make social chitchat at Oxford...but, alas, it's all gone now. You see, you've got to share experiences with people to talk about them, and I haven't been sharing. I've spent so many years in detention."

Benazir flew home to Pakistan from Oxford in July 1977, after eight years in Britain and America. Her father was overjoyed to see her. His party and government were crumbling, and he was running out of people to trust. He gave her an office next to his in the Prime Minister's secretariat. The job lasted two days, until the night that army officers knocked on the Bhutto door. He had planned a wonderful career for his daughter. She was to join the diplomatic service and go to the UN that September; it would given her "good exposure." But when September came, Bhutto was in jail in Lahore, awaiting

trial on the charge of conspiring to murder a party colleague. "Look," he said when she visited him, "how realities change."

She will probably never come to terms with the way he died. "Judicial murder" is the way she describes it, though she is quick to emphasise that she does not believe in revenge. "I think there are too many better things to do in the world than to fill up your heart with hate." But justice matters. "Was Mr Bhutto assassinated or not assassinated, that's the question. He wasn't just my father, he was the elected leader of Pakistan, and the people of Pakistan will want to see justice done. I do feel very strongly about this. It's not just the struggle of my family, it's the struggle of the people we knew, the people we lost, the people who had to face the gallows, of mothers and fathers with tears on their faces. It's a tremendous responsibility." She is a fine rhetorical speaker; interviews slide effortlessly into public meetings.

General Zia apart, two obstacles stand in her way. The first is her party, the PPP, whose horse traders and opportunists have severely taxed her patience in the past. They need Benazir because her name guarantees popular support, their way to power, but many of them openly loathe one another, rival feudal chiefs who come privately to Benazir to touch her feet and whisper a little malice in her ear. Last year, when her brother died, she came close to giving up. "I had so many intrigues to face. My life was politics, politics, politics. So when Shah was killed it somehow all seemed irrelevant. I asked myself: Why am I going round in circles? Why am I leading a life that is physically exhausting, financially exhausting, emotionally barren, socially barren—for what? I suddenly saw that I could have spent more time with my brother and now he'd gone."

Shahnawaz's death may never be properly explained. His Afghan wife, Rehana, was arrested by the French police and then released; Benazir insists that it was murder with a political motive. Soon after their father's execution, Shahnawaz and his brother, Munaza, had founded a terrorist group, Al-Zulfikar, which based itself in Afghanistan and sought support from the usual sources—Assad's Syria, Qadhafi's Libya. In 1981 the group hijacked a Pakistan Airlines plane to Damascus and forced Zia to release some imprisoned Bhutto supporters. But this, in terms of popular strategy, was a serious error of judgment that damaged the Bhutto family's image inside Pakistan. It was never repeated, and the two brothers lost the little political importance they had enjoyed; unlike Benazir, they had inherited neither their father's instincts nor his ambition. By his mid-twenties, Shahnawaz had retired to the French Riviera—although Benazir says that when he died he was about to

return to Afghanistan to resume guerrilla operations against Zia.

Benazir flew home with Shahnawaz's body to the old Bhutto capital, Larkana, where a vast crowd gave him a hero's funeral. "Then I realised that these were the people for whom we have made the sacrifice. It's for them that we have put up with our pain and grief. One gets strength from one's own country. One literally feels renewed."

The second obstacle standing between Benazir and power is not so easily surmounted. It is her sex. Being a woman, she conceded, did present difficulties, "not in terms of popular support, but in terms of my dealing with political colleagues. I must always maintain a certain degree of formality. For instance, I have to be accompanied by a proper chaperone. I must be careful how I talk to people. I can't develop the kind of camaraderie that exists between men."

But wasn't there something in Islam itself which denied a woman the right to rule?

"No, not at all. Islam gives equal rights to men and women. The prophet said that men and women are as equal as the teeth of a comb."

That quotation from the Koran is not particularly evident in Pakistan, where General Zia has given great prominence and some power to the *mullahs*, the Islamic priests, where women are often observable outside their home only as faceless mobile garments; and where, recently, in a bold move towards progress, the provincial government of Punjab declared that women who were to be whipped should be whipped only by women and only under the supervision of women doctors.

Benazir says she detests the "total control" of *mullahs* who dictate "which nostril you must wash first if you are to be a good Muslim". She is, however, a firm believer in God. "But let's say that I don't believe in the same interpretation of Islam as a *mullah*. But I am a Muslim. I believe in the Koran. For me Islam is a religion of equality...not only of equality between men and women, but also economic and political equality."

And then, remembering Zia, she said religion should never be used for political purposes. A careless statement, because if religion had never been used for political purposes, there would be no Pakistan, and no political throne for Benazir to lay claim to.

Finally, I wanted to check one fact. Was the popular supposition absolutely correct, I asked her, that if and when she supplanted Zia she would become the first woman in the world to rule a Muslim country?

"Quite true," she said, and then amended her answer. There had been a Muslim queen in the far-off history of the subcontinent, one Sultana Raziyya. At home I checked the history books. Raziyya briefly ruled the Delhi sultanate in the 13th century. "A great monarch," wrote the contemporary historian Siraj. "She was wise, just and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so, in the estimation of men, all these virtues were worthless."

Eventually, so the book said, men murdered her. The courage of Benazir Bhutto deserves to win her a better fate, when the realities change.

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PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ANALYZES POLITICAL SITUATION, BHUTTO'S CHANCES

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[Article by Tooshar Pandit]

[Text]

President Zia-ul Haq of Pakistan, who completes nine years in power—the longest spell by any military ruler—on 5 July, is in a bind for the gamble he took by letting his current adversary, Benazir Bhutto, into the country from exile in Europe. It was mainly done at Washington's bidding, which his Prime Minister, Mohammed Khan Junejo readily endorsed. The USA which keeps Pakistan going with massive infusions of economic and military aid is the dominant voice in the country. Pakistan, which is the fourth-largest recipient of US largesse after Israel, Egypt and Turkey will get over \$6 billion in economic aid from the US this year in addition to a \$4.2 billion military aid package now under consideration of the US Congress. The USA still considers Gen. Zia to be its best bet and an indispensable ally in its fight to contain the Soviet advance in the Middle East and South Asia where vital military and economic interests are at stake for the USA.

The USA has, therefore, embarked upon an experiment in Pakistan which, if successful, may, in future, be extended to other client states like Indonesia, South Korea and Thailand, where pliant dictators rule. Essentially the experiment is for evolving an institution which will perpetuate army rule and yet appear to be democratic. It envisages a diarchy in which Gen. Zia shares power with a civilian of his choice. The first move was made when Gen. Zia called an election to the national Parliament in February last year. Despite a boycott call by the opposition parties, more than 50 per cent of the electorate voted in the election which even critical observers admit was by and large free and fair. The election was held under controlled conditions in which the candidates were debarred from contesting the polls under any party flag and, predictably, the candidates favoured by Gen. Zia won most of the seats.

Gen. Zia, in the next move, hand-picked a staunch Muslim League leader from Sind, Mohammed Khan Junejo, from among the elected members to be his Prime Minister and his civilian face. With Prime Minister Junejo gradually building up a political base for him, Gen. Zia felt confident enough to end the martial law early this year and allow partial return of democracy. While President Zia held the whip, the Americans promoted Prime Minister Junejo who looks after day-to-day administration as evidence of democracy returning to Pakistan. The arrangement suits Gen. Zia as it promises him more years in power and he does not mind keeping a low profile as long as he is the *numero uno*.

The US view is that every time a civilian government came to power in Pakistan it plunged the country into chaos and anarchy providing the army enough excuse to intervene and seize power. Result: guns have ruled the country for 22 of the 38 years of independence. This, in turn, has made the armed forces an important factor in any power equation for the country. The USA which wants a stable and dependable government in Pakistan to protect its politico-military interests in the region has, thus, come up with the idea of a largely civilian government headed by a serving general to reduce the chances of an army takeover. Under this arrangement, the army will have its share of power and, therefore be obliged to keep the regime going. The President doubling as the army chief also minimises potential civilian-military disagreements as it gives greater stability to the incumbent President. Both Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan had to go only after they had given up their army posts. With the guns thus hidden behind a facade of democracy, the USA can also claim that it has not compromised its commitment to democracy in Pakistan.

The USA does not appear to be very keen on power being transferred to a strictly civilian government. More so to a government headed by Ms Bhutto who swears by non-alignment, an expression for edging away from Washington and, possibly, for negotiating a truce with the Soviet-backed Kabul regime to end the confrontation along the Afghan borders. The reception that she got in Washington before she returned to Pakistan clearly indicates what the USA thinks of her: the highest US official she could meet was an under-secretary in the state department. Yet, the USA insisted on her return to prove to the world that the present government in Pakistan has much deeper roots than is generally acknowledged. They knew that she would certainly try to rouse the people against the Zia government but they were also convinced that she lacked the strength or support to cause any serious damage. By inviting blows from her, the Americans actually wanted to test the strength and the viability of the edifice that they have prescribed for Pakistan and at the same time demolish Ms Bhutto.

The government of President Zia-ul-Haq, however, has something bigger on its hands than it bargained for. It certainly did not anticipate the kind of euphoric and highly emotional receptions that Ms Bhutto has been getting ever since she returned from London on 10 April. In Lahore, the capital of West Punjab and a stronghold of the ruling elite, where she launched her campaign asking Gen. Zia to transfer power to a representative government by this fall, an estimated one million people turned up at a park in the old city to hear her and mark her homecoming by showering rose petals on her. In Faisalabad, the booming industrial hub, factory workers risked their wages to attend her meeting and waited from dusk to dawn for her cavalcade to arrive in a sea of people. At her hometown Larkana, 24 kilometres north of Mohenjodaro, the heart of the Indus Valley civilisation, her boisterous supporters ran through the security cordon at the airport and many of them walked barefoot alongside the truck on which she sat on a gilded throne. In Sargodha, the peasants postponed harvesting and braved a scorching summer sun for a full day to have a glimpse of her. Pakistan has never seen anything like this before—not even when her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's popularity was at its zenith.

Some such expressions of freedom and relief were bound to manifest themselves after Gen. Zia lifted martial law, which kept dissent under a lid for about eight-and-a-half years, on New Year's day this year. But the current mass hysteria caused by Ms Bhutto is much more than what Gen. Zia thinks it to be: steam blowing out of the vessel of boiling

water after its lid has been taken off. Cults are made of more than this. And, Ms Bhutto has become a cult figure especially to the younger generation, many of whom are even ready and willing to die at her command. To the millions of adoring young men, she presents the image of a well-bred and well-read woman who has suffered more than she deserved and yet mustered up enough courage, which is rare for her age and in a male-dominated conservative Muslim society in Pakistan, to throw up a challenge to an army general who has been running the country for about nine years now. The Bhutto mystique adds more gloss to the image. Most of her young supporters have little or no recollection of how dictatorial and repressive her father Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was. They only remember his populist slogan: *roti, kapra aur makan*—food, clothes and housing for everyone. And the slogan sells. Even the elderly people who despised Zulfikar Ali Bhutto now see him in a different light and acknowledge that whatever his faults might have been, he was the first leader to identify with the common man.

Despite her mass appeal which seems to be growing in size and emotion with every meeting she addresses, Benazir is no Cory Aquino as her supporters would like to believe. In the Philippines, the Roman Catholic church was totally against President Marcos. In Pakistan, the Muslim clergy and the scholars are in ideological sympathy with Gen. Zia. In the Philippines, the army was bitterly divided in its support for Marcos. In Pakistan, the army is still solidly behind Gen. Zia. Compared with the Duvaliers and the Marcoses, Gen. Zia is a saint: he leads a spartan, soldier's life and has a reputation for personal integrity. He is certainly not hated as much as the Marcoses were. Above all, in the Philippines, Mrs Aquino succeeded in uniting all anti-Marcos forces under her leadership. Benazir Bhutto, on the other hand, has already alienated the major opposition alliance—the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) by denying the importance that it deserves and by setting the revival of Bhuttoism as one of her principal goals. The MRD, an alliance of 11 political parties of which Ms Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) is one, has been keeping the fire of extra-constitutional dissent burning all through these difficult years of military rule. The MRD too wants Gen. Zia to go. But Ms Bhutto who has the same objective is unwilling to share power with other constituents of the alliance if and when Gen. Zia goes. Besides, Bhuttoism is anathema to all other constituents of the MRD. After all, what is the MRD? It is another name for the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) which opposed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the 1977 elections, and having failed to dislodge him from power in rigged

cells they took the battle to the streets, ultimately paving the way for army takeover.

Even within her party the distance between her and the influential senior leaders is increasing as she is set to give her party a new look by placing younger people at the top by displacing or dislodging the elders. Her uncle Munir Bhutto is against her. So are former Sind chief minister, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, and former Punjab chief minister, Ghouse Magesee Khan, both of whom were close confidants of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and wield considerable influence in their respective provinces. Ms Bhutto is somewhat between Hasina Wajed and Begum Zia of Bangladesh, trying to do a Jayaprakash Narayan. She certainly wants to achieve what JPN wanted to and almost by similar methods: force Gen. Zia to hold an election by building up public opinion for it. She has also been trying to persuade some of the Parliament members to resign so that she can claim that the Parliament revealed to be a representative body of the people. But her efforts are yet to yield any result. Indeed, even those in Parliament who are opposed to the present government are unwilling to demolish the edifice of which they are an integral part. They know that in the process their political future would also be ruined. If there is an election today the chances are that Ms Benazir Bhutto will probably win a majority of the seats. But President Zia is in no hurry to hold elections now unless events force him to. And, Ms Bhutto can force him to hold an election only if she has the support of all the opposition groups and parties besides some support in the armed forces.

President Zia, having learnt his lessons from President Marcos of the Philippines, is doubly cautious about the quagmire which swallowed Marcos. His understanding is that sooner than later Ms Bhutto will run out of steam and her supporters will desert her once they realise that with all their sound and fury they are nowhere near the throne. So far, Ms Bhutto has been able to keep her campaign which she calls a public relations exercise and her supporters whom she describes as 'the doves of democracy' remarkably peaceful. But once frustration creeps into the ranks, she may not be able to prevent theawks giving a more militant and even violent turn to her campaign. Having started her campaign on a very high pitch, Ms Bhutto, too, may be forced to go on a confrontation course if she has to sustain her campaign for a protracted period. One can already notice the change in her tone and tenor. When she boarded the plane

which brought her home, she said: "If the movement runs out of steam, I'll wait until 1990 (when the next elections are due) for a peaceful change." Now, she appears to have grown impatient and speaks in terms of a war: a war she is seeking to escalate on 5 July, the day President Zia took power in an early morning coup in 1977 by deposing her father, whom he later executed. "Now it is time for another dictator to go," she says. To accomplish this, she wants her supporters to observe 5 July as a protest day, a day of mourning by holding protest rallies and demonstrations.

Gen. Zia is also keeping the powder dry and waiting for an excuse to strike at her. If Ms Bhutto's supporters turn violent it will give him the excuse he is looking for. As yet, the government has made no attempt to stop Ms Bhutto from escalating out. But at some stage or other Gen. Zia has to come out and say enough is enough. The question now is: does, triumph or disaster await another Bhutto?

The odds are still in favour of Gen. Zia who still retains the right to reimpose martial law. He has also the tool to enforce it: the armed forces of which he continues to be the boss. All the important power brokers—the army, the bureaucracy, the feudal lords, the *mullans* and the US—are on his side. Most Pakistanis believe that many of Ms Bhutto's present supporters are bound to abandon her if they are asked to defy military rule. The crowds may vote for her but may not be as willing to die for her. A forefinger was raised by those who claim today to be ardent PPP supporters when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged in 1979 as none of them had the courage to stand up to the guns. Public support in Pakistan is notoriously fickle as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto found out so tragically.

While the transfer of power to a civilian government in December 1985 did not usher in a full-fledged democracy, it has resulted in considerable relaxation of controls and allowed resumption of political activity. Many in Pakistan are eager and willing to give the arrangement a fair trial without summarily dismissing it as evil. Gen. Zia has also given some stability to Pakistan. A run of good harvests, remittances from the Pakistanis working abroad and a strong flow of American military and economic aid have worked wonders for the Pakistani economy which can now boast of a per capita income almost twice that of India. All these give Gen. Zia immense power. Even then, if the agitation spreads turmoil on the streets leading to a confrontation between the army and the crowds, President Zia's time could

be up. If the army feels that Gen. Zia is losing his grip it may find the job easier without him. Gen. Zia could then be facing the kind of army revolt that brought down President Marcos of the Philippines. But unlike Philippines another General rather than Ms Bhutto is more likely to seize power in Pakistan. Ms Bhutto, however, has history and tradition on her side. Gen. Ayub Khan had to go in March 1969 and his successor Yahya Khan had to call an election in 1970 because of violent agitations against military rule which Zulfikar Ali Bhutto masterminded and led. History, it is said, often repeats itself. Benazir Bhutto is certainly hoping that it will.

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PAKISTAN

LEADER TERMS SIND SITUATION 'ALARMING'

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 86 p 2

[Text] LAHORE, June 25: Maulana Jan Mohammad Abbasi, Naib Amir, Jamaat-i-Islami, has expressed concern over the alarmingly deteriorating law and order situation in Sind, saying that even a journey by day on the Indus and National Highways is unsafe.

Addressing a Press conference, here on Wednesday, he said influential elements, with political backing, were involved in the dacoities and kidnappings. Even the deployment of Rangers and troops would not be able to normalise the situation, unless the Government took a firm decision to take to task all the 'anti-social' elements, he remarked.

He said the agencies, charging ransom for the release of abductees, were known to many, but nobody could dare identify them, because of 'security' reasons.

Answering a question, he said he

would not demand resignation of the Government for its failure to control the crimes in Sind, but would press the Assemblies to take notice of the situation and devise ways and means to protect the life and honour of the people.

Maulana Abbasi said because of helplessness of the law enforcing agencies in Sind, the departments, whose officials were abducted, went on strike and quoted a number of examples of such departments.

He criticised the Government for publicising the Shariat Bill to elicit public opinion. "Everybody wants adoption of the Bill, and the legislature should adopt it at the earliest," he added.

Maulana Abbasi is here to participate in the Jamaat's Central Executive Committee's meeting beginning on Thursday.

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PAKISTAN

INTERNATIONAL JURISTS' MISSION TO VISIT PAKISTAN

Karachi DAWN (BUSINESS supplement) in English 26 Jun 86 p IV

[Text] QUETTA, June 25: Three member mission representing Geneva based International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) will be visiting Pakistan from September 7 to 21; for making an assessment of human rights situation since lifting of Martial Law in the country.

An intimation to this affect has been made to Mr Yahya Bakhtiar, an eminent jurist and former Attorney General of Pakistan by Mr Niall Macdermot Secretary General of ICJ soliciting his suggestions as well as organisations or individuals, who members of the mission should have meeting with, during its visit to Pakistan.

Mr Niall Macdermot, in his letter to Mr Yahya Bakhtiar, has said that the mission would look into the changes made in the constitution under Martial Law, and whether certain aspects of Martial Law had been institutionalised, in addition to changes made in the electoral

process, curbing of freedom of political parties and civil and political rights. The mission will also study trial and treatment of political prisoners convicted by Special Military Courts during Martial Law, and as to what efforts had been made to bring the administration of justice in line with the international norms.

International Commission of Jurists mission would also make an assessment of the independence of judiciary, the impact of Islamisation on the rights of women, and an assesment of economic social and cultural rights with reference to trade unions, academic freedom and the situation of Ahmadiyya community.

The Secretary General of International Commission of Jurists has asked Mr Yahya Bakhtiar whether it would be convenient for him to liaise with the mission for its extensive tour of the country.

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PAKISTAN

'HATE PUNJABI' DRIVE IN SIND ALLEGED

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 86 p 2

[Text] LAHORE, June 25: Jeaye Sind Students Federation has started a campaign of 'hatred' against the Punjabis living in Sind province and if timely action was not taken, it may lead to a situation similar to that of 1971.

These views were expressed by Mr Enayat Husain Bhatti, Chairman, Rabita Committee Punjab Forum at a press conference here at a local hotel. Mr Bhatti has recently returned from Sind after assessing the situation there.

He said for the last 39 years, the Punjab had been accused of usurping the rights of smaller provinces and the people of Punjab as well as the rulers had not taken any step in this regard. As a result, he said, this gulf continued to widen with the passage of time and now the situation reached where it required immediate attention of the Government, he added.

He demanded that Punjabi should be made medium of instruction in all educational institutions of the province, Punjab be given its due share in industrial, agricultural, educational and other spheres, a sense of goodwill be created among the people of all provinces to put an end to the wave of hatred, those responsible for in-

itiating deliberate campaigns against the Punjabis be taken to task.

He said the Forum was planning to undertake a tour of every part of the province to inform the people about the true state of affairs and to seek their cooperation.

The Chairman of Punjab Forum called upon the leaders of all political parties to take serious note of the situation and find ways and means to put an end to parochial feelings. He also appealed the Government to immediately check the deliberate attempts by the vested interests to eliminate Punjabis from Sind.

He also circulated a pamphlet at the press conference distributed by Jeaye Sind Students Federation, giving a call to the non-Punjabis in Sind to unite against the Punjabis and to throw them out of Sind.

Replying to a question, he said the Punjab Forum was a non-political body. Therefore, it was the duty of political leaders to rise to the situation and help save the Punjabis. He said even after 15 years of the separation of East Pakistan, the intellectuals there were of the view that they had not gained anything after separation.

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PAKISTAN

PPP'S DEPENDENCE ON PUNJAB BASE SEEN AS MISTAKE

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 26 Jun 86 p 18

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

LET ME BEGIN by stating my thesis right away that the Pakistan People's Party, being the only political party with roots in all the four provinces, is the last hope for national survival. If it is successful in its bid to win power, all the problems which the country faces will not automatically disappear, but some of the consequences of endless and mindless military rule will abate. On the other hand, if the PPP is destined to fail, the disenchantment from which the smaller provinces are suffering will become accentuated. Forces exerting centrifugal pressure on the federation will be strengthened. The Sindh-Baluch-Pakhtoon Front may then receive a shot in the arm. It would not be altogether wise to dismiss such gloomy prognostications.

Stranger things have happened in the history of Pakistan. When Shaikh Mujib, a politician of the second rank, unveiled his Six-Point programme in 1966, few people could have predicted the break-up of Pakistan within a period of five years.

Pivotal role

The PPP has, therefore, a pivotal role to play in the present political situation. Not only is the future of democracy at stake but the very survival of the federation. The trouble, however, is that the feat the PPP is trying to pull off — dislodging Gen Zia and paving the way for

fresh elections, — may be based on a premise that with the passage of time could turn out to be quite fallacious.

The PPP's strategy is centred on the Punjab (which is understandable since most of its strength is derived from there). The expectation sustaining the PPP is that the Punjab will rise and be in the forefront of any movement that may be launched to press the Government to announce an election date in autumn. This may be a dicey calculation. The privileged classes of the Punjab are living off the fat of the land. They are the principal beneficiaries of the status quo. Why should they be interested in changing it?

True, the PPP derives its support from the under privileged sections of society, specifically the peasantry and the lumpen proletariat. But these classes, although their number runs into the millions, are utterly disorganised. Their aspirations are genuine enough but no one has ever taken the trouble to channelise them. The peasantry always has played a secondary role in the political upheavals that have rocked this country. Decisions are taken in the towns and the villages follow suit. The lumpen proletariat, moreover, is a vacillating mass active and passive by turns. In high tide it is capable of playing a radical role. But not when political enthusiasm is at a low ebb.

How, then, is the Punjab to rise above its circumstance? The classes

which matter — the military, the bureaucracy, the landlords, the merchants and even small shopkeepers — the classes in fact which have sustained the present military Government, are unlikely to hurt themselves into a democratic struggle because there seems no compelling reason for them to stick their necks out at this stage. True, Miss Bhutto is trying to appeal to these classes. But the purpose of these appeals is to neutralise these classes so that, in a confrontation with the Government, they do not stab the Party in the back.

But the paradox confronting the PPP is that whereas its principal power base is the Punjab, the scene for the greatest radicalisation lies in the smaller provinces which, especially when compared to the Punjab, are hotbeds of disaffection and hence enemies of the status quo. Baluch politicians who command any respect in their province are either strong proponents of provincial autonomy like Ghous Bux Bizenjo or out and out secessionists like Khair Bux Marri. In the interior of Sind the sense of grievance against Islamabad and all its works can only grow with the passage of time. For the moment, the forces of Sindhi nationalism are being kept in check by the PPP but suppose in a struggle the Sind outstrips the Punjab. Who will then convince the youth of Sind that they should retain faith in a Punjabi-dominated centre? The NWFP, on the other hand, although integrated economically with the rest of Pakistan, is being radicalised as a result of the Afghan problem and its effects on the fabric of Pakistoni society. The scattered bomb blasts and the other incidents of terrorism are but a forerunner of how events are likely to develop in future. No wonder the Beirut metaphor is increasingly being applied to Peshawar. Will this not encourage radical talk and the search for radical solutions?

Deliberate moderation

The PPP, however, is deliberately adopting a moderate posture in order not to alarm the military and privileged classes and the Americans who stand behind both. Avoiding the use of radical rhetoric, it is trying to present itself as a responsible party that will not repeat the mistakes of the past nor prove unworthy of the responsibilities of government.

Although Afghanistan promises to be the one issue which could lead to the destabilisation of the Zia Government, the PPP is maintaining a discreet silence over it. It is also trying to play a "responsible" role in the interior of Sind and instead pinning all its hopes on the Punjab.

Ideally, the Punjab should take the lead in this situation and be in the forefront of the democratic movement. But economically and socially it has little motivation to bear the burden of this historic challenge. Judge what the Punjab's role was in 1971, judge also what its role has been during the last nine years — there has been resistance on the fringes but nothing on any epic scale — and one might conclude that its role in the future might not be vastly different.

The fact remains, however, that besides the military, the PPP is the only other natural party of government. It represents a compromise between opposing political extremes — between the reactionary and revolutionary tendencies in our society. It is thus the last bulwark against a radical upheaval which makes it a pity that neither the Americans nor the Punjabi ruling classes should recognise this. As Nehru wrote in his

autobiography, "Unhappily, all history shows that vested interests do not accept (such) compromises. Classes that have ceased to play vital part in society are singularly lacking in wisdom. They gamble for all or nothing and so they fade away." Bad perhaps for the PPP, but infinitely worse for the ruling circles of the Punjab.